

*Journal
of the
Child Welfare League
of America
Inc.*

OF MICHIGAN

JUL - 1959

SOCIAL WORK
LIBRARY

child welfare

Amendments to New
York's Adoption Law

Highlights of the Foster
Care Project: Introduction

Placement Prescription
for Adolescents

Services to Adoptive Parents
After Legal Adoption

The "Accused" Child: The
Role of Authority in Treatment

Operational Information for
Effective Management

July 1959

CHILD WELFARE

JOURNAL OF THE
CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, Inc.

HENRIETTA L. GORDON, Editor

CHILD WELFARE is a forum for discussion in print of child welfare problems and the programs and skills needed to solve them. Endorsement does not necessarily go with the printing of opinions expressed over a signature.

CONTENTS

	Page
Amendments to New York's Adoption Law The "Permanently Neglected" Child.	1
By Shad Polier	
Highlights of the Foster Care Project: Introduction	5
By Henry S. Maas	
Placement Prescription for Adolescents	10
By Thomas T. Glasscock, M.D.	
New Board Members	15
Services to Adoptive Parents After Legal Adoption	16
By Florence G. Brown	
The "Accused" Child: The Role of Authority in Treatment	23
By William G. Nagel	
Operational Information for Effective Management	28
By Newton R. Holcomb	
Readers' Forum	33
Book Notes	35
Classified Personnel Openings	36

Editorial and general office: 345 E. 46th Street, N.Y. 17, N.Y.
Published monthly except August and September by the
Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
Annual Subscription, \$4.00
3-Year Subscription, \$10.00
Individual Copies, 45 cents
Student Rates—Annual Subscription, \$2.75
2-Year Student Subscription, \$5.00

Copyright, Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 1959

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 52-4649

VOL. XXXVIII

No. 7

CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Officers

MRS. RICHARD J. BERNHARD, *Pres.*, New York, N. Y.
FRANK S. BAILEY, JR., *Vice-Pres.*, Seattle, Wash.
MRS. HERBERT F. FISHER, *Vice-Pres.*, Hartford, Conn.
RT. REV. MSGR. JOSEPH P. SPRINGOR, *Vice-Pres.*,
Milwaukee, Wis.
MRS. JUAN T. TRUPPE, *Vice-Pres.*, New York, N. Y.
MRS. GEORGE L. WEST, *Vice-Pres.*, Pittsburgh, Pa.
ALAN S. GEISMER, *Sec.*, Cleveland, Ohio
THOMAS M. PETERS, *Treas.*, New York, N. Y.

Board of Directors

HON. ELMER L. ANDERSEN, St. Paul, Minn.
JUDGE JANE M. BOLIN, New York, N. Y.
MRS. ROBERT A. BROWN, Des Moines, Iowa
MRS. SARA R. CALDWELL, Jackson, Miss.
FRANCIS T. CARMODY, New York, N. Y.
R. H. COLLACOTT, Cleveland, Ohio
DR. GEORGE F. DAVIDSON, Ottawa, Ontario
ROBERT E. DILLON, Buffalo, N. Y.
JUSTICE GEORGE EDWARDS, East Lansing, Mich.
DR. MARTHA M. ELIOT, Boston, Mass.
CLYDE GETZ, Los Angeles, Calif.
CARL W. HAUENREITER, Providence, R. I.
W. O. HEINZE, New York, N. Y.
MRS. KATE B. HELMS, Charlottesville, Va.
E. T. HERMANN, San Rafael, Calif.
MRS. LINDSAY HOBEN, Milwaukee, Wis.
LESLIE L. JACOBS, Dallas, Tex.
THEODORE A. JONES, Chicago, Ill.
MRS. DAVID M. LEVY, New York, N. Y.
JUDGE HARRY W. LINDEMAN, Newark, N. J.
LEONARD W. MAYO, New York, N. Y.
ROBERT M. MULFORD, Boston, Mass.
MRS. WILLIAM K. PATON, Dover, Del.
HAROLD T. PATTERSON, Atlanta, Ga.
PAUL W. PHILLIPS, Fort Wayne, Ind.
JACK N. PRITZKER, Chicago, Ill.
EDWIN J. PUTZELL, JR., St. Louis, Mo.
DR. JULIUS B. RICHMOND, Syracuse, N. Y.
MRS. ALEXANDER RIPLEY, Los Angeles, Calif.
WILLIAM D. SCHMIDT, Cleveland, Ohio
JOHN G. TIERBAN, Washington, D. C.
FRANKLIN W. WALLIN, Jenison, Mich.
DR. ELLEN WINSTON, Raleigh, N. C.
ARNOLD S. ZANDER, Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH H. REID, *Executive Dir.*
HELEN R. HAGAN, *Asst. Exec. Dir.*

COMMITTEES ON PUBLICATIONS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

JOHN G. TIERBAN, *Chairman*
Executive Secretary
Family and Child Services of Washington, D. C.

Policy Committee

MR. C. ROLLIN ZANE

Advisory Committee

MARY C. DALY
*Director, Department of Children, Catholic Charities of St. Louis,
St. Louis, Mo.*
BEATRICE E. GAUGHAN
*General Case Supervisor, Division of Child Welfare, Department
of Social Welfare, Rochester, N. Y.*
DOROTHY GILES
*Director, Children's Services, The New England Home for
Little Wanderers, Boston, Mass.*
JEAN GREGORY
*Executive Secretary, The Greenwich Center for Child and Family
Service, Greenwich, Conn.*
MRS. ERIC HAIGHT
*Board Member, The Spence-Chapin Adoption Service, New
York, N. Y.*
ADELAIDE KAISER
Director, Hillside Children's Center, Rochester, N. Y.
ELIZABETH G. MEIER
Associate Professor
New York School of Social Work, New York, N. Y.
ROBERT F. OTT
*Director, Division of Child Guardianship, State Department
of Welfare, Boston, Mass.*
AMELIA STERNAU
*Director, Child Adoption Service of the State Charities Aid
Association, New York, N. Y.*
ELIZABETH S. TOWNSEND
*Executive Director, Children's Bureau of Delaware, Wilmington,
Delaware*
VERNA WASKOWITZ
Division Supervisor
Family and Children's Society, Baltimore, Md.
HAROLD N. WEINER
Executive Director, National Publicity Council, New York, N. Y.
MRS. ALAN WIENER
*Board Member, Association for Jewish Children of Philadel-
phia, Philadelphia, Pa.*

AMENDMENTS TO NEW YORK'S ADOPTION LAW

THE "PERMANENTLY NEGLECTED" CHILD

Shad Polier*

One state removes a serious obstacle to adoption for children in foster care who can be regarded as permanently neglected.

IN THE field of child welfare the law usually lags considerably behind social work thinking. Amendments to the adoption law of New York enacted at the recently concluded session of the legislature provide a welcome exception to this general rule. Indeed, a minor revolution in social work attitudes and practices may well be essential before fullest advantage will be taken of this new opportunity for adoptive placement of hundreds of additional children each year.

In New York, as in most states, adoption of a child already in foster or institutional care has been possible only if the parents give their consent, or if the court determines that they have "abandoned" the child. Recent studies have shown that in only a small percentage of such cases has it been possible to obtain the parents' consent. In the great majority of instances, parental contacts with the children have been few, and largely meaningless. Yet, when the issue of the availability of these children for adoption without parental consent arises, the courts generally hold that there has been no "abandonment."

There have been occasional decisions of lower courts in New York holding that a parent who seldom visits a child in foster

home or institutional care is guilty of abandonment, particularly where the parent has demonstrated no love and affection for the child. Most lower courts, however, have continued to apply the rigid requirement that "abandonment" involves "a settled purpose to forego forever all parental rights." Within the past year, three of the judges of the highest New York court explicitly re-endorsed this rigid principle. Moreover, none of the other four judges challenged their view of abandonment but decided that there was an abandonment by any standard in the case before them.

In this state of the law, most of the 34,000 children in foster home and institutional care in New York were condemned to live out their lives without any real family relationship. Regardless of whether adoptive families could be found for them, and despite the fact that they were left emotionally adrift, their inevitable lot was custodial care. They were truly "lost" children, living stunted, if not blighted, lives, and at great public expense.

In the field of child adoption, an intolerable gap had thus developed between social reality and prevailing legal concepts. Why did this come to pass? And why was remedial legislation essential rather than judicial reinterpretation of the law? The answers to these questions may well throw light upon the problems with which both social agencies and the courts will have to cope, now that such legislation has been enacted.

General acceptance of adoption as a social norm is a relatively recent development. Even today, there are respectable social agencies which have not come to realize fully that the interests of a child are not wholly served by foster home care where parents,

*The author is the original draftsman of the New York statutes discussed in his article. Mr. Polier, an attorney in New York City, is counsel for Louise Wise Services, an adoption agency, and for the Citizens' Committee of New York City. The latter organization was the sponsor of the legislation and Mr. Polier is a member of its legislative committee. In its final form, the legislation was the product of extensive consultation with child adoption and foster care agencies, public welfare authorities, and representatives of the Children's and Surrogate's Courts. The new statutes are Chapters 448, 449 and 450 of the New York Laws of 1959. They became effective April 15, 1959.

although able to do so, are unwilling to maintain a real relationship with their children. All too many agencies are unprepared, in their own thinking, to undertake the difficult task of adding adoptive services or coordinating their own work with that of adoption agencies. The task will be a formidable one, since most of the children involved will be "hard to place" older children.¹

The Need for Remedial Legislation

Remedial legislation was necessary because the problem was too complex to be dealt with by developing a solution through the common law method of case-by-case decision. Moreover, the traditional concept of "abandonment" is not without value as a protection of parents who, under emotional stress or economic difficulties, turn over their children to some private person. Actually, therefore, what was needed was not a redefinition of the notion of "abandonment." The approach called for was the creation of a *new* concept to cover the case of a child already in the care of a social agency, when the agency believed that an adoptive home could and should be found for the child. This, in turn, involved the setting of standards which would protect the rights of parents,² serve the interests of the child, and recognize the role and responsibility of the social agency in our society.

Further, it was necessary that a means be provided for terminating parental rights before the child's placement in an adoptive home. Until the child is thus freed for adoption, finding an adoptive home is difficult, and often impossible. Families seeking a child for adoption are most unlikely to be willing to build their lives around a child, particularly an older child, unless given assurance that adoption will follow if they prove themselves to be adequate parents.

¹ See Bernice Boehm, *Deterrents to the Adoption of Children in Foster Care*, 1958; and Florence G. Brown, *Adoption of Children with Special Needs*, 1959. Both are published by the Child Welfare League of America.

² See Justine Wise Polier, *Parental Rights*, CWLA, 1958.

These considerations underlie the changes recently made in the New York statutes. The heart of the changes lies in creating a new legal category, the "permanently neglected child," and in giving jurisdiction to the Children's Courts to terminate parental rights over such a child, in a proceeding initiated by the social agency having the child in its care and desiring to place him for adoption. Once such termination of parental rights occurs, the agency becomes the permanent custodian of the child, and in subsequent adoption proceedings parental consent may be dispensed with.

The New York statute defines a "permanently neglected child" as:

"a child whose parent or guardian has, following the placement or commitment of such child in the care of an authorized agency, whether in an institution or in a foster home, and notwithstanding the diligent efforts of such agency to encourage and strengthen the parental relationship, so failed substantially and continuously or repeatedly for a period of more than one year, to maintain contact with and plan for the future of the child, although physically and financially able to do so, that such parents or guardian should, in the moral and temporal interests of such child, be deprived permanently of the custody of the child, and, in the event that the parent defaults after due notice of a proceeding to determine such neglect, such physical and financial ability of such parent may be presumed by the court."

The new statute specifies that the proceeding for termination of parental rights may be instituted only by the agency having the child under its care. Other procedural provisions are designed to assure that the parents of the child will be given adequate notice of the proceeding and full opportunity to be heard upon the issue of termination of their rights.

The "Permanently Neglected" Child

The category of "permanently neglected child" includes two groups of children under agency care. In the first group are the vast majority of children in institutions and foster homes. Most of them have been turned over by their parents as "dependent children" to public welfare authorities, who often have placed them with private social agencies. The others are the group of children who have been committed by the Chil-

dren's Co
because o

The me
the social
determini
a "perma
statute, w
nently ne
by events
care of th
child ma
Such pri
communi
child fro
given to
character
regain c
adequate
interests
a charge
serious c
deprivat
ent, to b
sever all

The Ag

A dete
quires t
more th
ents aft
must sh
efforts t
tionship
quireme
the com
parenta
ment"
the soc
parent-

True
the Chi
satisfie
good jo
the far
necessi
serve t
would
social
case to

Children's Court to the public or private agency because of parental neglect.

The method by which the child came into the social agency's care is of no significance in determining whether he became, thereafter, a "permanently neglected child." Under the statute, whether the child became a "permanently neglected child" is to be determined by events occurring after he came into the care of the agency. It is not enough that the child may have been neglected previously. Such prior neglect may have justified the community in taking the custody of the child from the parents. But the custody given to the agency was of a temporary character. The parents retained the right to regain custody upon showing that other adequate provision could be made in the interests of the child. A proceeding involving a charge of permanent neglect has far more serious consequences. It looks to permanent deprivation of the custody rights of the parent, to be followed by an adoption which will sever all parent-child relationship.

The Agency's Responsibility

A determination of permanent neglect requires that the Children's Court shall do more than evaluate the conduct of the parents after the child's placement. The agency must show the court that it has made diligent efforts to encourage and strengthen the relationship between parent and child. This requirement expresses a societal judgment that the community is not justified in terminating parental rights in the absence of "abandonment" unless the community has, through the social agency, sought to reweld the parent-child relation.

True, there is no certainty that judges of the Children's Court will, in all instances, be satisfied that the social agency has done a good job of encouraging and strengthening the family ties. On the other hand, the necessity for securing judicial approval may serve to stimulate better work by agencies. It would be a confession of bankruptcy for a social agency to refrain from presenting a case to a court when it is satisfied that all

that can be done has been done. Given careful casework and proper presentation of the facts to the court, there is no reason to suppose that this requirement will obstruct termination of parental rights in appropriate cases.

Measuring Parental Failure

The statute directs that the Children's Court shall determine whether the parent has "failed substantially and continuously or repeatedly . . . to maintain contact with and plan for the future of the child." Apart from the phrase "continuously or repeatedly," these are terms which must be given content not by resort to legal dictionaries, or even to judicial precedents, but by judicial interpretation. They will take on meaning and become effective only to the extent that the courts apply them in the light of child welfare needs and the standards which the community accepts and supports. A heavy responsibility rests upon social agencies to articulate for judicial consideration the background of the legislation and the purpose it is intended to serve.

The language of the statute makes clear that parental failure is not to be measured by the mere presence or absence of contact with the child. The phrase "continuously or repeatedly" was intended to make possible the finding of permanent neglect not only in the case of a parent who does not visit or communicate with the child, but also one who does so only occasionally.

The statute also makes explicit that contact is in itself not enough to negate permanent neglect. This is a truism to those engaged in the field of child care. It has, indeed, been recognized by those few courts which have sought to free children for adoption by giving weight to the absence of parental love and affectionate concern in determining whether there has been an "abandonment." Manifestation of love and affectionate concern for a child and planning for his future are of the very essence of the parental relationship. They are what the social agency is charged with encouraging and strengthen-

ing. Substantial failure of the parents in these respects "for a period of more than one year" is, therefore, one of the touchstones of permanent neglect in the sense of the statute.

Parental default despite agency help cannot alone authorize a finding of permanent neglect, and the permanent deprivation of the parents' custody rights. The court must be further satisfied that its adjudication is but a step toward providing the child with another, and an adequate, set of parents through adoption. Such legislative intent is clear, even though not stated in so many words in the provisions of the new law giving Children's Courts jurisdiction to determine whether a child is permanently neglected. For simultaneously the legislature enacted the amendment to the adoption law which dispenses with parental consent in an adoption proceeding involving a permanently neglected child. By design, the final test for the permanent termination of parental custody for permanent neglect has been made the same as that applied to any adoption—whether it is "in the moral and temporal interests of such child."

Moreover, the legislative history of the statutes, including the memorandum signed by the Governor approving the bills, shows that their "purpose is to provide procedures with adequate safeguards to permit the adoption of a permanently neglected child, without the consent of his parent or parents."

The new law takes into account that some parents may be so physically or financially handicapped as to be unable to maintain the kind of parental relationship which otherwise would be expected and required of them. The duty of showing that their failure for such reasons is, however, placed upon the parents. Nevertheless, the courts may be expected to require the social agency bringing the proceeding to give the court whatever information it has about the physical and financial condition of parents who do not appear at the hearing upon the trial of the proceeding.

As a practical matter, it is likely that, in many instances, parents will not appear to oppose proceedings to determine the issue of permanent neglect. Especially is this likely to be so in the case of the mother of an illegitimate child. In such an instance, the mother

may not have surrendered the child for adoption at the outset because of the hope of marriage with the father, or, more often, out of a sense of guilt in parting with the child. In these cases, the visits with the child may have been frequent at first, then fewer and fewer in number, until they have become only symbolic for the mother and worse than meaningless to the child.

To many parents the existence of a procedure to determine permanent neglect will afford an opportunity to place the responsibility of termination of their parental rights upon the conscience of the court, and thereby enable the parents to avoid making a confession of their own failure which the signing of a surrender means to them. However, the institution of the proceedings will, no doubt, often result in the signing of surrenders by parents who otherwise would be unwilling to face the fact that their conduct has deprived the child of any prospect of a meaningful parental relationship.

Remedial legislation such as New York has enacted represents promises and a challenge. To thousands of children it promises the hope for the happiness and fullness of life which can be given them only in an adoptive home. To the community it promises more useful and effective citizens, and an end to useless expenditure of public funds. To the courts and the social agencies it offers a challenge to transmute the words of a statute into a magna charta of freedom and dignity for our "lost children." May promises be fulfilled and challenges be met for the sake of all of us.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS School of Social Work

Urbana-Champaign and Chicago

A two-year professional program
leading to the degree of
Master of Social Work

Fellowships, Scholarships, Traineeships Available

Write: Director, School of Social Work
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FOSTER CARE PROJECT: INTRODUCTION*†

Henry S. Maas

Director, Research in Foster Care
Professor of Social Welfare,
School of Social Welfare,
University of California, Berkeley

The first of a series of papers on the findings of a study of children in foster care in nine communities to be published in CHILD WELFARE. The total report in book form will be released by Columbia University Press in October.

It was difficult to decide what to select for reporting in less than ninety minutes from our two years of research. For example, if I start by presenting in an unqualified way four of our major findings and conclusions, I must reassure myself that all the other material I might have presented is no more important for you to know at this time. There are limits, moreover, not only to what we can say in these few minutes but also to what you can carry away. Here are four starters. We shall be amplifying some, if not all, of these.

1. It is a delusion to consider foster care primarily a means for providing children with temporary substitute homes—while parental conditions which have led to and maintained the separation of parent and child are being remedied. For once children have been in foster care three months, it gives promise of being long term for most of them. Moreover, agency relationships with most fathers and mothers of the children in care are such that, if parental conditions are to be modified, the process will have to be one of self-healing—without the assistance of casework services.

2. Forty to fifty percent or more of the children in foster care in every one of our nine communities showed symptoms of maladjustment. Many of these children gave evidence of a confused sense of identity—were unclear about who they were—and showed other than affectionate feelings toward their parents, though relationships with siblings tended to be strongly affirmative. **Emotional disturbance was related in a highly positive way not to the length**

of time children spent in care but rather to the number of placements they had, a probably circularly reinforcing situation. Emotional disturbance was also, together with below average intelligence, a major barrier to adoptive placement. Emotional disturbance was noted for many of these children at intake—a problem which was not reduced in extent during their period of care.

3. On April 1, in each of our nine communities, there were some children living with foster families, some in institutional care, and some in adoptive homes. Distributions varied widely from community to community. For example, in one community foster families took care of 77 percent of the children in care; in another only 6 percent did so. In three communities most of the children in care on April 1 were in institutions—67, 64 and 55 percent of them. In one community, adoptive homes provided for 39 percent of the children in care on April 1; in two others, for only 6 percent. To understand such differences, and related facts in the patterns of child placement which emerged in each of the nine communities where we studied children in foster care, we had to know about more than the legal system and agency services per se. **Knowledge of the larger community dynamics, of a kind to which we tend to pay little attention in practice, seemed repeatedly to be needed to help explain child placement histories in our study.**

4. Rates of agency adoption varied from community to community, depending in part on the kinds of cultural, legal and agency processes.¹ Moreover, in slightly less than half of all the adoptive cases, the chil-

* Research in Foster Care was financed completely by The Field Foundation, Inc. and administered by the Child Welfare League of America.

† Presented at National Conference on Social Welfare, CWLA meeting, San Francisco, on May 28, 1959.

¹ These will be discussed in later issues.

dren placed by the agencies were either of a minority ethnic group, or to some degree physically imperfect, or in a much smaller proportion of the cases, were psychologically disturbed or of below average intelligence. There were some such adoptive placements in every community in which we studied the problems—from the most rural community to the biggest cities, the percentages of children placed in adoption who were in some way different ranged from 30 to 90 percent of agency adoptions in each community.

Agencies thus evidenced their work on the so-called hard-to-place child. However, of all children in adoptive placement, more than 80 percent were under the age of two and more than half of these were under the age of one, while fewer than 10 percent were over the age of five. It should be noted that while only a total of 17 percent of the children placed in adoption were over the age of two, 40 percent of our adoptive parent applicants expressed some willingness at intake to adopt a child over two. We found that adoptive parents have broader tolerances for difference in the children they are willing to take than the characteristics of the children the agencies place in adoptive homes would indicate. Who then is defining a child as hard-to-place? Are the so-called more professional agencies the least likely to place with adoptive parents children who are in some way different?

Finally, this slight amplification on two of the four major findings cited so generally in these opening paragraphs:

Foster care seemed likely to be a long-term affair for at least half the children whom we found in foster care for a minimum of three months. These were some 266 boys and girls who were, to all intents and purposes, unvisited by their parents, not wanted at home again, and with some barrier to adoptive placement. As a group they averaged over ten years of age; fewer than 20 percent were under the age of five. A third of them were Negro, Spanish, Indian or of mixed ethnicity. A third were judged to be of below average intelligence. Fifteen percent of them had ir-

remediable physical handicaps. And half of them showed some symptoms of psychological difficulty.

Regarding our finding that about half the children showed some symptom of psychological upset and that this condition correlated with many moves in placement, in six of our nine communities a quarter or more of the children had had four or more different placements by the time of our study!

These are but a very few of the major findings and propositions emerging in our two-year study of children in foster care and adoptive placements in nine American communities across the United States. This study was guided by questions about the conditions of children in foster care and special curiosity about what prevents such children from either returning to their own families or being placed in adoption. Our conviction, of course, is that every child should be growing up in a family in which he feels he belongs in a permanent way. Our research aims therefore were to describe and understand what kept children out of such a situation. What were the placement histories of dependent children under agency supervision? Why were more of the children in care not placed in adoptive homes or returned to their own families?

The Social Contexts of Child Care

Because of the lack of systematically gathered information about children in foster care—and because we suspected that children's dependency situations vary from community to community, are defined in different ways, and have differing opportunities for resolution—we decided to do an extensive, socially-oriented study in many parts of the USA rather than an intensive, more psychologically-oriented one limited to a single agency or a single community. At least this is the sequence in which we think knowledge in this field should be developed, from the broad social to the better guided and more refined psychological.

We wanted to be able to study the conditions of children in foster care within broad

social contexts with which we were as well acquainted as possible. Our assumption was that in child welfare services perhaps more than in other segments of the welfare field, agencies have to operate in close conjunction with non-professional persons such as foster parents and adoptive parents, both in a way extensions of the services that the agencies are offering. It was therefore essential that we examine the worlds within which child placement occurs.

These assumptions about what was needed to understand child placement led us to plan a study which would be not merely a survey of children's cases, to be pooled in a single population regardless of community context, but rather an inquiry into children's situations in a variety of communities. But communities varied how? The choice of dimensions by which communities would be selected for study threw us back to a consideration of some of the major elements in the child placement field—matters of family structure, ethnicity, economic status and physical space.

Family structure and physical space we related to the size and degree of urbanization of communities; ethnicity to the percentages of foreign-born, Negro, Spanish and other minorities in the population of a community; and economic status to such census facts as median income and range of income, and years of schooling. In our very earliest planning of the research, we considered using professional judgments on the level of child welfare services in the selection of our communities; but this effort resulted only in clear evidence that we could get no consensus from experts in the field as to where, in the USA, levels of services for children were high and where they were low. This dimension was therefore abandoned.

Communities Selected for Study

With amazingly little difficulty, we concluded the selection and commitment of nine communities: The first two were a pair of rural communities, in the north central states, each with a county population of

about 18,000 and a county seat of about 6,000 people; we had ample evidence that we were dealing with rural places which were ethnically homogeneous, in the main, and economically quite comfortable. (While we were interested in economically depressed rural areas too, our concern was that we might not be able to find the necessary kinds of agency data there.) On the basis of our study of foster care and adoptions in these two rural, midwestern counties, we thought we should be able to begin to distinguish between rural and urban services in the child-care field. However, we knew that we could not generalize about rural services in America on the basis of our inquiry into these two counties only, although we wondered, for example: Was the physically or psychologically handicapped child as hard to place in rural places as elsewhere?

Our second two communities we called small urban counties. Both had populations of around 50,000. Neither was in any sense a manufacturing center, but both were centers of government. They were in the West, in the Rocky Mountain states, and both had quite rapid population growths, distinguished from one another in ethnic and socio-economic dimensions. One community was essentially a homogeneous and economically prosperous small urban county; the other was of relatively low economic status, with 60 percent of its population having Spanish surnames. If the Spanish child elsewhere in America is a hard-to-place child because of his ethnicity, what happens in a community where the Spanish are a majority—and urbanization has proceeded no further than is typical of an isolated trading and government center serving an essentially rural area?

The next communities we selected were three metropolitan areas. All three were in the eastern half of the USA—one in the east north-central states; one in the old South, the South Atlantic states; and one in the Northeast, in New England. All three of these communities cluster between 100,000 and 200,000 in population, but only one can be considered an economically prosperous

and ethnically homogeneous community—the metropolitan area in the east north-central states. The metropolitan area in the old South was the most depressed economically of the nine communities we studied; this was closely interrelated with the fact that at least 40 percent of its population was Negro. Here, despite fairly rapid population increase, the traditions of the old South were still dominant. The third of our metropolitan areas, in New England, gave much evidence of being an economically depressed area, typical of the communities of the Northeast where textile mills have moved out, where at times there may be more working women than men, and where more than a fifth of the population is foreign-born. They are primarily Catholic—southern European and French Canadian.

Communities 8 and 9—our big cities—were both megapolises whose population increments between 1940 and 1950 were close to 50 percent, whose level of economy was very high, and whose urbanization and suburbanization apparently made both highly desirable places to live. One of these communities was in the Pacific states, and the other in the south-central states. The latter is considered perhaps a prime example of economic growth and progress in the new South; it still kept well segregated the almost one-fifth of its population who were Negro and the additional 5 percent who were Spanish.

The Children Studied

From these nine communities, and specifically from the total of sixty child-placing agencies serving all of them, we obtained 5 x 8 "white roster cards" on all children in care on April 1, 1957—that is, in a foster family placement, an institutional placement, or an adoptive home under agency supervision on that date. In addition we obtained from these agencies (blue) roster cards on all children who had left foster care for either an adoptive placement, to return home, or for other reasons (such as becoming of age) during the six months period between January 1 and June 30, 1957. Our total popu-

lation for study was then 4,281 children, and from this population we drew 882 cases for case reading. Our selection was a random one after we had stratified our population into the five placement categories of foster family, institution, adoptive home, return home, and "left care for other reasons."

While the numbers of children in the samples vary somewhat from community to community, in each of the three metropolitan areas and the two big cities we have from 110 to 142 children for intensive study. Our total metropolitan and big city child populations were over 3,800. Our total rural population was 110 children; there were eighty-seven children in our rural sample. In our two small urban counties we read records on seventy-six children in one and ninety-four in the other, having basic roster data on a total of 335 small urban county children. Thus, we shall not be talking about astronomical numbers of children but rather about relatively small but, we believe, adequately sized and sampled groups.

Gathering Data

Finally, how did we gather our data? Groundwork for our research in each of the communities and a yeoman service was performed by the project's associate director, Miss Zelma Felten, who through correspondence with agencies and visits to the nine communities before each field team's arrival, prepared one and all for our field work.²

Then, after three months of preparatory work on schedules and other matters in our office in Berkeley, our two field teams, each composed of one child welfare worker and one sociologist, set out for the first of their communities. One team visited in succession both rural communities and then the three metropolitan areas; the other team visited the two small urban counties and the two big cities. Since our analyses of data in our major report are largely comparisons of four sets of

² Our completion of the study with no evidence of pain to anyone on the agency staffs or in the communities or in our research family testifies to the power of Miss Felten's planning and operation in the field.

paired-l
commu
tively c
differen
rural co
not fun
During
field te
perform
munity
the ran
munity
on each
work o
and in
commu
unders
forces
cluded
outside
ters, p
counse
trades
positio
problem



paired-by-size communities (with a ninth community to test hypotheses), we are relatively comfortable in assuming that observed differences between, for example, the two rural communities or the two big cities are not functions of variations in observer bias. During the eight to nine months each of our field teams was gone from Berkeley, they performed at least three jobs in each community. They completed case schedules on the randomly selected cases in each community; completed a sizable agency schedule on each of the agencies included in the network of services in each of the communities; and interviewed key persons in each of the communities under study in an effort to understand child placement and the cultural forces at work in each community. This included recording interviews with 178 persons outside of the welfare field—judges, ministers, priests, labor union officials, school counselors, physicians, nurses, industrialists, tradesmen, lawyers and many others in a position to know about children and their problems in each of the nine communities.

**UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
50TH — ANNIVERSARY — 1959**

Master of Social Work

A graduate two-year program in preparation for casework or group work practice in all fields of social work.

Advanced Curriculum Certificate

A third year program in administration, casework, community organization, group work, research, supervision or teaching. Open to experienced social workers with a Master's degree in Social Work.

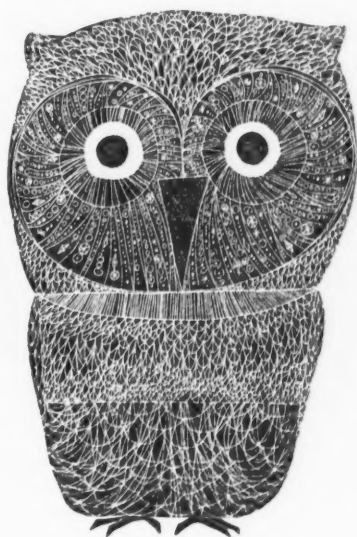
Doctor of Social Work

A doctoral program offering the opportunity to develop scholarly and professional competence for leadership in social work. Open to the experienced social worker with a Master of Social Work degree. Advanced Curriculum credits applicable.

Financial grants available

Address: DR. MARGARET E. BISHOP

Director of Admissions
University of Pennsylvania
School of Social Work
2410 Pine St., Phila. 3, Pa.



WHO'S WHO IN SOCIAL WORK?

Will you be Listed in the New

**DIRECTORY OF PROFESSIONAL
SOCIAL WORKERS?**

**Apply for Membership no Later than
November 1, 1959 to**

**National Association of Social Workers
95 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.**

PLACEMENT PRESCRIPTION FOR ADOLESCENTS*

Thomas T. Glasscock, M.D.

Children's Division, Dept. of Psychiatry
U. of Colorado Medical Center, Denver

A psychodynamic description of adolescence in relation to the specific problems of placement, with a "prescription" for placement of adolescents who require such treatment.

ADOLESCENCE is a period in human development characterized by metamorphosis. It is a sort of human pupa stage, often fraught with emotional confusion and chaos. It is not too difficult to understand that the rapid growth and physical change of the adolescent can produce a sense of chaos in him. The gangling teen-age boy, bursting from his clothing, falls over himself clumsily because his muscle and bone proprioceptors, which only yesterday told him accurately where his arms and legs were in space, are today struggling to reorient themselves, and are just a little out of kilter. The teen-age girl wiggles ludicrously down the street, not entirely for exhibitionistic reasons, but because her pelvis is expanding at the top of two rapidly lengthening legs.

The relatively sudden arrival of the secondary sexual characteristics is even more cause for confusion. These sudden events demand rapid and drastic changes in self-perception, involving changing faces, voices, feelings and thoughts. These are irrevocable heralds of approaching adulthood and unmistakable evidence that childhood is over—a frightening prospect for the child who has longed for, but never experienced, the joys of a secure childhood.

The forces which provoke sexual maturation are extremely taxing to the ego functions of the lately quiescent child. The ego defenses, such as repression, sublimation and denial, which have worked adequately during the preadolescent years, are now weakened by the demands of sexual expression. Great anxiety emerges—sometimes, even the intolerable impulses of very early childhood in poorly disguised form, against which an array of new and more drastic defenses are

thrown into action. The behavior of the adolescent, then, is something like a battle in which his ego struggles to keep pace with his physical maturation and, at the same time, to hold in check the resurging impulses, hatreds and anxieties of childhood.

The Turmoil of Adolescence

Perhaps this combatant state could be better illustrated by an example from an article on the treatment of adolescents, by Dr. Irene Josselyn. She quotes the following soliloquy of a rather sophisticated adolescent.

"I am an unfortunate manic-depressive. I gather most manic-depressives are manic for weeks, then depressed for weeks. They have a chance to get used to each state. But sometimes I go through the cycle several times in a day. When I am depressed everything is wrong. I think I'd commit suicide except I don't have even that much energy. I guess if I were a girl I'd cry but gee, even that would take more energy than I have and all of a sudden I'm ready to do everything. I feel sore at one person and even if he is twice my size I'm ready to fight. I'm nuts about someone else and I'm dying to prove how good I am, but Doc, do you suppose I'm a schizophrenic. Just now I feel as if I'm not talking about myself but about somebody I've watched."

Dr. Josselyn goes on to say that when the therapist asked a few minutes later about the results of the football game that day, this schizoid, manic-depressive patient was transformed into an eager seventeen-year-old boy who had just been chosen captain of the team.

Still other factors contribute to the adolescent turmoil. Their struggle to work through the internal conflict of giving up the dependency prerogatives of childhood for the independence of adulthood is complicated by the nature and demands of our culture. In our society the young adolescent is confronted by demands for mature behavior, and at the same time by attitudes of ridicule and ambivalence. Parents vacillate between over-

* Given at the National Conference on Social Welfare, CWLA meeting, San Francisco, on May 26, 1959.

TS*

n rela-
with a
who re-of the
little in
with his
time,
pulses,ld be
om an
ts, by
owing
escent.gather
then de-
used to
several
thing is
t have
girl I'd
ry than
ything.
my size
and I'm
suppose
talking
d."en the
ut the
, this
trans-
d boy
of theadoles-
rough
pend-
inde-
y the
n our
ed by
t the
l am-
over-

control and no control, trust and mistrust, tolerance and intolerance, loving understanding and competitive hostility. Whatever the constellation of confusing attitudes toward him and demands upon him, the fact remains that our culture gives the adolescent relatively few opportunities to share in the prerogatives of adulthood. Thus the possible gratifications and rewards of sexual maturation and physical and psychological independence are withheld from the adolescent for an excruciatingly painful length of time.

Adolescents Who Require Placement

So far I have attempted to illustrate some of the factors which appear to characterize adolescents in general, but what of those who require placement prescription? They are, for the most part, an emotionally disturbed group. They have suffered traumatic experiences in the form of pathological relationships, disruption of relationships, and the lack of meaningful relationships. They come to us from homes broken by divorce, death, mental illness and crime, from custodial institutions and correctional institutions. They come to us from repeated placement disruptions and placement failures.

Such traumata have made it difficult, if not impossible, for these unhappy teenagers to develop adequate ego defenses, and thus they are ill-prepared for the added stresses of adolescence. Since their ego functions are poor, they feel painfully inadequate. They either regress into passive infantile patterns, or lose themselves in exaggerated efforts to prove how tough they are. Impulse control is inadequate, so that increasing sexual and aggressive drives and physical maturation result in direct action. Since there is little capacity for controlling the resurgence of unworked-through infantile conflicts, repetitive, indeed compulsive, acting-out of these conflicts often results.

Because of the inadequacy and trauma of earlier relationships with adults, there is almost always a need to test potentially gratifying, new relationships to the limit. Gnawing yet unacceptable needs for primitive dependency gratifications, juxtaposed with

anger, frustration, and the expectation that no one can love or understand, reveal themselves in this testing process.

Since uncomprehending adults often make impossible demands for good behavior, accompanied by anxious, counter-hostile affects, and since these demands hold little promise of reward to the sensitive adolescent, he often withdraws from such relationships and seeks comfort in identification with similarly troubled peers. Together they have the courage to rebel against the demands of society and to act out their anger and frustration.

Obviously, such behavior is confusing and frightening to adults who are confronted with the task of coping with it. Attempting relationships with these children is almost as taxing to the adult ego as the adolescent process is to the adolescent, and the gratifications for such attempts are often considered not worth the effort. This is one reason, I think, why foster home placements fail so often.

Selecting Children for Placement

It would appear from my description that hardly any placement situation could meet the needs of these belligerents; yet open group facilities do work, and if properly engineered, work well. Success depends in part upon the careful selection of children for placement. To illustrate this point I would like to review briefly the diagnostic pigeonholes into which we have pushed ninety adolescents evaluated in our Child Diagnostic Center in the last year or so, and the recommendations that we have made for them.

Of the ninety cases, eleven were considered mentally defective and in need of custodial care. Commitment to the State Training School for the defective or similar private agency was recommended. Nine of these children were considered to be psychotic and closed hospital care was prescribed.

Twenty-five were diagnosed as suffering from character disorders of moderate or severe degree. Severe affect deprivation syndromes were perceived in some of these chil-

dren. Most of them were too disturbed to tolerate open group placement, in our opinion. Their ego functions are sufficiently defective and their capacity to form adequate relationships sufficiently poor, that they are quite unable to adapt in open group settings, and constitute a very disruptive influence on the rest of the children in the home.

There are few facilities in this country adequate to treat such children effectively. We can only hope that not only will such facilities become available in the future, but that this population of severely damaged children can be reduced by preventative measures instituted early in childhood, rather than in adolescence when it may be too late. Therefore, in prescribing for these children we recommended the ideal treatment facility, hoping that the repetition of such recommendations to the county judges and welfare agencies responsible for the children's disposition would help to stimulate public action to obtain the special closed intensive treatment centers needed for severely disturbed youngsters.

Of the ninety cases, the remaining forty-five, one-half of the total number of cases reviewed, were diagnosed as having neurotic behavior disorders or adjustment reactions of adolescence. It is for this group that we most frequently prescribed open group settings.

The Group Living Situation

I construe the term *group placement* or *group living situation* to mean, in general, a supervised home in an ordinary neighborhood with facilities for no more than fifteen to twenty children. These establishments are divided naturally into two general types: the group home for ten to twenty adolescents, operated by a community welfare agency or family and children's service, and staffed by trained personnel from that agency; and the group foster home for no more than five to eight children, subsidized by an agency but in general operated by a private couple under the close supervision of the agency.

The specific interests, policies and nature of either of these two types of group settings would determine the kinds of children they accept. By and large they require that the child have:

Average intelligence or better: It has been found that children with borderline capacity are often isolated by the rest of the children, and thus prevented from using the placement effectively.

Group placements specifically designed for such children could be an answer for this specific problem, and a supplement to existing training school facilities.

Sufficient inner strength to be able to develop adequate behavioral controls in the setting.

A capacity for forming relationships, both with the adults in charge and with the other children.

A capacity for tolerating regular casework: This usually involves having sufficient anxiety about his behavior to want to change.

The capacity to tolerate public school, in view of the nature of the settings.

Again it should be stressed that careful diagnostic evaluation is necessary prior to placement, if the above-mentioned qualifications are to be assessed in the child with any degree of predictability. Such diagnostic evaluation, I think, should include complete psychiatric and psychological study, buttressed by as detailed a longitudinal social history as possible.

Value of Group Placement

There are many advantages of group placement. First, the group home offers a controlled setting in which good use can be made of adolescent peer identification. Although I have hinted at this factor of group identity in my rapid review of adolescent problems, I think it worthy of restatement at this point.

Normally, a large part of the human maturational process is the gradual acquisition of independent functions, of self-sufficiency. The child learns to stand and walk unaided, to feed himself, to speak, and to tolerate increasing separation from the parent. This process is accelerated in adolescence, particularly with respect to psychosocial relationships. That is to say the adolescent, because of his internal striving for independence, along with the reorganization of his ego functions and the cultural pressures,

is very much concerned with a kind of final differentiation of his "self" from the "self" of his parents. It is as if he were recapitulating that first dramatic step toward individualization at the ages of one to two, when he realizes that he is a separate entity from his mother and every sentence is dominated by "I" and every parental command met with a defiant "no."

In adolescence he again rebels dramatically, depending upon his self-security, against the value systems of his parents, against the methods of solving problems learned from his parents, and against their hopes and wishes for him. He turns to other adults and especially to his peers to test out new values, new methods for solving problems and new identifications. This can partly explain why parents are often prophets without honor in their relationships with their teen-age offspring, and why relationships with other authority figures and particularly peers are so much more important.

Perhaps because the disturbed adolescent has had unhealthy relationships with parents and parent figures, he invests even more energy in his peer relationships and must test to the very extreme every potentially meaningful relationship with an adult. In a group setting, therefore, the child's striving to be one of the group, to look well in the group, to identify with the group values, facilitates his integration into the group. The adolescents themselves, given relatively skilled supervision, establish workable controls, and find acceptable ways and means of working through the individual's rebellion against parental figures and authority.

A second advantage of group placement is that trained observation by motivated houseparents and group workers on a twenty-four-hour basis can facilitate individual therapy carried on outside the home. And third, supervision of the houseparents and other personnel by trained workers tends to soften or to modify their conscious or unconscious counter-hostility against the neurotic acting out of the adolescent. I feel that this factor is probably more important than any other, particularly in the small group home.

This, of course, leads to a fourth factor—economy of time and personnel—since it is easier and more effective for a supervisor to work with one set of foster parents on the behavior of five to eight adolescents, than to engage in less intensive individual supervision of five to eight pairs of foster parents of individually placed adolescents.

Criteria for Houseparents

In listing the advantages of group placement, I have used the words "skilled supervision" and "motivated houseparents." This leads us naturally to a discussion of the criteria for the selection of such skilled, motivated houseparents. I imagine that concern over the selection of such rare individuals poses quite a severe problem for agency personnel, after they have been so fortunate as to obtain the necessary funds for establishing a group home or a group foster home. The ideal foster parents would be emotionally mature; physically vigorous; flexible; capable of dynamic understanding; tolerant of aggressive behavior, endless provocation and frightening hostility; and, of course, capable of establishing and maintaining consistent controls which are comfortable but firm.

I am sure that such individuals are as rare as natural diamonds; we would defeat our purpose if we always held out for these qualifications. In fact, we might find ourselves in the unenviable situation of the bachelor who was looking for the perfect woman. He found her but remained celibate because she was looking for the perfect man. We can, however, be quite firm when we consider minimal standards for the selection of personnel. I do not think that I will astound you with my naïvete when I state some of what I consider to be minimal criteria.

First of all, a prospective houseparent should not be psychotic, of less than average intelligence, overtly perverse, or overly burdened with dependent needs or needs for acting out with, or against, the children under his care. He should have at least minimal capacity to understand the behavior of adolescents. He should have sufficient stature and security in his marital relationships

and occupational and social position in his community, and sufficient agency support, to function as a reasonable object of identification for the adolescents with whom he relates. He should have sufficient flexibility and self-security to tolerate and make use of supervision. These items again point out the great importance of adequate agency supervision, with good communication and mutual understanding between houseparents and agency personnel.

It would be wonderful if some sort of training were available for houseparents. Programs are being established in a few university centers, I understand, but as in the case of treatment centers, there are too few facilities to provide any ready source of personnel. However, I think it within reason for agencies establishing group homes to consider in-service training programs seriously.

Administration of the Group Home

Having considered the selection of houseparents, I think it worthwhile to consider next some aspects of the administrative structure of the larger group home. The agency should be clearly established as administrative control and as a general source of therapy, with facilities and staff for weekly case interviews with each child who is not under psychiatric care. In cases under treatment with private psychiatrists or clinics which are not agency-related, channels of communication must be kept vigilantly open. Adolescents are notoriously adept at playing rivalrous authorities against one another.

A trained senior worker with some dynamic psychiatrically-oriented experience should be in charge of the home, with one pair of houseparents, one or more assistant houseparents, and a recreational director or similar group worker who, along with the assistant parents, can relieve the regular parents at appropriate times. It has been found that for boys' or girls' homes a male director functions as a kind of masculine authority, a father figure who is necessary for healthy positive controls.

With regard to the small group foster home, it is worthwhile to reiterate that since the houseparents are not actually employees of the agency but are subsidized by the agency, close supervision with regular consultation with the foster parents and individ-

ual casework for each child should be maintained if at all possible. Subsidization, of course, does not mean that the foster parents are entirely dependent upon the agency. Indeed, it has been found advantageous to have a couple in which the husband works at a regular job and the wife functions as a housewife, as if this were a normal family.

Again, it is the careful selection of children for group placement and the careful selection and supervision of houseparents and foster parents that determine, primarily, whether or not such a group facility will succeed or fail.

Selection of physical surroundings is worthy of mention. The Denver Family and Children's Service discovered that when their home for girls was removed from rather drab run-down surroundings to a very pleasant house in an excellent neighborhood, a remarkable change occurred in all of the girls. They paid more attention to their appearance, looked prettier and seemed happier, and paid more attention to keeping their surroundings pleasant. A similar change was noted in many of the parents of these girls who visited regularly, as if some of the feeling the girls had about their improved condition had rubbed off on their parents.

Summary

I have described some of the problems which confront normal and disturbed adolescents, confining my discussion, I hope, to those aspects relevant to the problems of adolescents who need placement. I have tried to indicate some reasons why group placements for adolescents have the potential for filling a very real need in our society. I have described two types of group placement which can be established within the limits of present day agency operation, putting strong emphasis on careful case selection, careful staff selection, and most of all on adequate continuing supervision, particularly of the subsidized foster parents of the small group home.

There is a quotation on a plaque over a cowboy's bar somewhere out in our Wild West that goes: "I ain't what I ought to be, I ain't what I'm gonna be, but I ain't what I was." This is the dilemma of the adolescent. I hope that with the expanded use of such group placements as I have tried to de-

scribe, we as workers and therapists intimately involved in doing something about adolescent problems will find ourselves equipped to help at least a few adolescents to a smoother becoming and a healthier "what I ought to be."

NEW BOARD MEMBERS

The League takes great pleasure in introducing our new board members.

Dr. George F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare of Canada. He is president of the International Conference of Social Work; formerly executive director of Canadian Welfare Council; was formerly president of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada and of Canadian Conference on Social Work; and formerly board member of APWA and FSAA. He served as representative or member of Canadian delegations to many United Nations bodies. In 1953, he was elected chairman of Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of UN General Assembly, and in 1958 was president of the Economic and Social Council.

Robert E. Dillon, president of Lake Erie Machinery Corporation of Buffalo, and director of many leading business firms. He is president of the Children's Aid and SPCC of Buffalo; and a member of the Council of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

Carl W. Haffeweff, president of the Children's Friend & Service, Providence. He is a trustee of the Children's Cancer Research Foundation of Boston; and was formerly director of the Providence Community Fund.

E. T. Hermann, president of Pacific Mill & Elevator Company; and a director of Bechtel Construction Corporation, San Francisco. He is a board member of Sunny Hills, San Anselmo, California; on boards and committees of child welfare agencies; and a participant in various organizations connected with the Presbyterian Church.

Mrs. Lindsay Hoben, board member of the Children's Service Society of Wisconsin; and president of Milwaukee Psychiatric Services. She was formerly a board member of

Child Care Centers in Milwaukee and formerly director of Walden School, New York City.

Harold T. Patterson, vice president and general counsel of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. He is honorary director and past president of Child Service Association, Atlanta; and a board member of the Central Atlanta Improvement Association. He was formerly a member of the Fulton County Planning Commission, Atlanta Social Planning Council, and Social Service Index.

Mrs. Alexander Ripley, incoming president of the Children's Bureau, Los Angeles. She is first vice-president of Homemakers Service; chairman of the Volunteer Bureau, Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council; and was recently named one of ten "Women of the Year" by the Los Angeles *TIMES* for activities in the community service field.

Dr. Ellen Winston, Commissioner, North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare. She is a member of Secretary Flemming's Advisory Council on Child Welfare Services; and immediate past president of the American Public Welfare Association.

The George Warren Brown School of Social Work

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis 5, Missouri

A two-year graduate curriculum leading to the professional degree.

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

A professional graduate two-year curriculum, largely generic. Supervised field practice is available in both public and private child welfare agencies.

Scholarships or training grants usually available for the qualified applicant.

DOCTOR OF SOCIAL WORK

A professional degree based on a research concentration.

Early inquiry and application advised.
For information, write to The Dean.

SERVICES TO ADOPTIVE PARENTS AFTER LEGAL ADOPTION*

Florence G. Brown

Executive Director
Louise Wise Services
New York City

In reconsidering the help needed by adoptive parents, the author came to the conclusion (confirmed in a series of group meetings) that many need help after they begin to live with the realities of adoption.

THE SELECTION of the adoptive home is first in guaranteeing a sound placement, and the initial introduction of the child to the family is part of our study and selection. The reality of adoption, however, is the child actually living with his new family, and their adjustment to each other. Our goal in the period after placement is the successful integration of the child into the family, and our role is to help in this integration.

I am not suggesting that agencies continue with a legal responsibility for the child, nor do I feel that we should impose contacts with adoptive families after legal adoption. This could indeed create added anxiety and dependency. I suggest only that we have services available for those families who want help from the agency.

Need for Post-placement Help

We could assume the attitude that if we have carefully selected our families, we have carried out our responsibility and there is nothing to worry about. However, experience has shown that regardless of our degree of skill, we cannot take this smug approach. Couples applying for adoption come to the agency with a great deal of anxiety. For many, this is a first experience at a social agency, and they do not know what to expect. Many have gone to doctors for years with regard to their infertility problem and see the agency as their "last hope." They usually know in advance about the limited number of children, and that many families are therefore refused. The agency is faced with the difficult task of trying to get to know people who have built up very natural

defenses and who often cannot let us know them. Also, we have to try to predict what they might be like as parents before they have had the opportunity to be parents.

Because of all these limitations I believe that we need the most skillful caseworkers, and that their skill is essential not only in selecting parents, but also in helping them with the many things they will need to face as adoptive parents.

Some matters that are discussed theoretically during the study can become real only after the child is actually in the home, and some conflicts may become reactivated. For example, despite the adoptive parents' apparently having come to terms with their inability to have their own child, their conflicts may again be stirred up and need further discussion during the supervisory period. We also continue to talk about other areas that were gone into during the home study, such as telling the child of his adoptive status, and handling adoption in the community. However, even during the supervisory period, much of this may still be theoretical because of the child's age.

Starting Group Meetings

From time to time our staff reported that families asked whether we ever had group meetings for adoptive parents. We, too, wondered whether we could be of further service to our families when they were actually facing some of the questions that had been previously discussed on a theoretical basis. We therefore undertook an experimental program of group meetings for adoptive parents a few years after legal adoption. It seemed also that we would have an informal follow-up of some of our placements,

* Given at the National Conference on Social Welfare, CWLA meeting, San Francisco, on May 28, 1959.

to aid in evaluating our work with adoptive parents.

In establishing our first group in the spring of 1955, we did a random selection of fifty families. We wrote them that some of our families had asked about the possibility of the agency's planning meetings for adoptive parents, and that we would like to know the extent of the interest. We asked that they write us if they wished to attend, and tell us the kinds of things they would like to discuss. Twelve families had moved, and the letters did not reach them. Of the remaining thirty-eight, thirty families urged us to go ahead with our plans. Since so many responded, we had to plan on three groups. As word got around, many of our other families called and asked if they could attend, and we promised to include them in later groups.

The letters written by the families suggested many topics, but the majority expressed a desire for discussion of what to tell the child about his biological parents, and the circumstances that caused him to be given up by the parents. Almost all of the letters in some way expressed concern about handling the out-of-wedlock status.

Abstracts from letters are revealing:

"Eighteen minds in addition to our own and that of a trained person, will undoubtedly present other points of view which must be helpful to all of us."

"The fact that Betty was born to us afterwards causes some concern as to the future, although Sue already understands there is a difference in the way they both arrived . . . Among the subjects we would like discussed is how far should you go with the truth about the background."

"The only question that really puzzles us is about the handling of illegitimacy. There appear to be different points of view in this area."

The Composition of the Groups

Our first group met just four years ago; thus far we have had nine groups. Seven were led by the executive director, and two by one of our very experienced supervisors. Eight to eleven couples participated in each group, totaling 88 couples or 176 individuals in all. The meetings were held in the evening, to make it possible for the husbands to come. Our first two groups met for five sessions and

the others met four times each, for one and a half hours. A member of the staff served as the recorder at all meetings and one to three other staff members sat in as observers.

Most groups consisted of parents with children of three to seven years of age; one group had children of eight to twelve years. Two of the groups were made up of families who recently had a second child placed with them, and were still in supervision. Our earlier groups included only our Jewish parents, but with the development of our interracial program we invited our Negro parents to attend. Our last three groups were therefore set up on an interracial basis.

We found that nine of the families, or approximately 10 percent, had children born to them after adoption, and two of these had two children born to them. The total group included 125 children.

Approach to the Group

Our general approach in handling all of the groups was similar, even though there were differences based on the personalities of the individuals and the interaction between the leader and the group. At the first meeting of a series, the leader reviews our reasons for sponsoring these meetings and tells about topics that previous groups have discussed. She then suggests that the group define the areas that relate specifically to adoption, and also establish the extent to which concerns and questions of adoptive parents are the same as those of all other parents. She points out that it is important to recognize that there are some differences for adoptive parents, but also that there are many similarities to any other group of parents.

In describing the procedure at these meetings, the leader explains that she will not present a lecture nor prepare a specific agenda. She states that we see these meetings as an opportunity for the members to clarify their own thoughts and feelings about various aspects of adoption. Throughout the meetings the leader encourages free discussion and tries to create an accepting atmosphere. She indicates her awareness of some of

the conflicts with which they might be faced, and often by her assurance that it is not uncommon to have these feelings, the members of the group are enabled to talk about them.

The Topics Discussed

Although the approach has differed in each group, at some point the following topics have usually been discussed:

When and what to tell the child about his biological parents.

The circumstances that caused him to be given up by the biological parents. Should he be told that he was born out of wedlock?

What should the child be told about where he was prior to adoptive placement? Should he be told about the agency?

What if the child shows no interest in being told about adoption? Should the parent volunteer information?

The use of the word "chosen."

What information regarding adoption should be shared with friends and relatives?

Should the school be told that the child is adopted?

Do adoptive parents feel different from other parents in disciplining their children? Do adoptive parents find it more difficult to accept hostility from their children?

Heredity and environment in relationship to adoption.

Group Discussion

The amount of participation within the group has varied. In some groups the leader has had to play a fairly active role in stimulating discussion, while in others the discussion among the members of the group has started quickly. In some groups there has been tension before the beginning of the first meeting, but we have been impressed with the speed with which most have moved in actually becoming a group, even during the first meeting. The common interest seems to help the members to communicate with each other quite quickly.

Some groups were not able to go beyond a superficial level of discussion, while others went much further in working on their feelings. In one group a few of the members would have liked to have continued with a smaller group on the level of group therapy. The amount of discussion was not necessarily indicative of the quality, and in some instances there was very active but highly

superficial participation. As for the differences in the level of discussion, since all of the groups were established on a random basis we can only conclude that these were related to personality differences.

At the last meeting of most groups the leader presented a summary of the four meetings. In addition to pulling together the discussion of the group, the leader included her own thoughts about some of the topics.

All of the parents in our discussion groups expressed very positive feelings about the whole idea of these meetings. This was also shown by the very regular attendance at all meetings, even though many of the couples had to travel a great distance. They urged us to establish such groups as a regular part of our program.

There was general agreement that although many wondered about how things will be a few years later and therefore would have liked having parents of older children in their group, it was important for them to have had this opportunity at this early period. The group of parents whose children were eight to twelve years of age said they wished they had been able to attend such meetings when their children were younger.

We, too, felt from our experience that these meetings were the most helpful for the parents of the three-to-seven-year group. It is during this period that parents first have to face the handling of adoption with the child and the answering of questions about the biological parents; also at this time they are faced with more questions in relationship to the community, such as whether to tell the school that the child is adopted. But consideration should be given to the possibility of families attending when they wish to.

Our parents felt that such a program can best be given by adoption agencies rather than under other auspices. It is my impression, however, that groups under other auspices, such as child guidance clinics and adult education programs, have proved to be successful. But it is essential that the leader have extensive experience and deep understanding of all aspects of adoption, in addi-

tion to being skillful in group leadership. One important advantage in having this program within the adoption agency is that as we add to our knowledge of many aspects of adoption, we are able to share this with other groups. For example, when questions arise about how children feel about their adoption when they become adults, and what the fact of illegitimacy might mean to them, we are able to speak of our experience with adults who have returned to the agency in later years. Therefore, in addition to the value of the discussion among the parents themselves, the leader can contribute a good deal and thereby add to the assurance gained from these meetings.

What the Meetings Accomplished

It should be noted that we limited our scope at the outset. We knew that we could not help our parents to resolve basic problems through a group process such as this. However, we did feel that the meetings were therapeutic for most of the parents. We noted a certain amount of fear at revealing shortcomings and uneasiness about the existence of conflicts. Many may have felt that they, too, had been "chosen" and therefore had a good deal to live up to. They wanted to be like all other parents, and yet found that they had to face certain differences. It was helpful to them to get the assurance of the leader that conflicts were understandable and did not necessarily negate their success as parents. They were also reassured by the leader's recognition of the fact that differences in the group were to be expected, and that they would not all handle their children the same in relationship to adoption.

At times the leader expressed a point of view based on agency experience, but frequently, when asked about the agency's opinion regarding a particular question, she emphasized the fact that we do not have set formulas. She tried to convey that what was suitable for one couple and their child did not necessarily apply to others. Generally, the leader's approach was to stimulate the members of the group to express their own points

of view, and to help them understand the extent to which their feelings shaped their attitudes, and influenced their handling of a given situation.

Discussion of Illegitimacy

This was especially true in many of the discussions of illegitimacy, in which there was often a tendency to project the parents' concern onto the child. For example, questions such as what it would mean to the child to be called "bastard," and whether his sexual adjustment would be affected if he learned that he was born out of wedlock, were obvious reflections of the parents' own uneasiness.

The question of illegitimacy was discussed by all groups, although some evaded it for one or two meetings. No final conclusions were reached. Some continued to feel that at some point they will tell their child about it, while others were very much opposed to this. The leader's role was to indicate that some parents would be able to handle this quite comfortably, while others would not, and that their own comfort was an important factor. She said that it was important for the parents to recognize that it is generally known now that most children placed for adoption are born out of wedlock, and that many people assume this. She felt that they will have to give some thought to this reality in arriving at their decision.

There was less shifting in points of view with regard to the question of illegitimacy, and yet the participants probably gained the most from the discussions of this topic. This was the most troubling to the majority, and one they could talk about least, on the outside. Group discussion was of value because of their mutual concern, the freedom to express their thoughts, and the stimulation provided for future thinking. The fact that the questions were not resolved was to be expected.

Informing School of Adoption

As we talked about whether the school should be told, some were in favor, others

were opposed, and those who were not yet faced with having to make the decision were uncertain of what they would do. Here the leader indicated that there were differences in the schools' ability to use the information constructively, and these were factors to be considered. It is interesting that in most groups the majority of parents finally decided it would be best to tell the teacher. In some instances the parents reported back on the change in their point of view two or three meetings after this topic was discussed.

Handling Discipline

With regard to discipline, there tended to be denial by many that adoptive parents might find it more difficult than other parents to discipline their children. Some did feel that adoption was a factor, and that perhaps they had more fear of hostility from their child and possible loss of love than other parents. The leader again gave reassurance by saying that it was understandable for a parent to feel hurt if a child said, "I hate you. I don't have to do what you tell me to, because you're not my real mother."

The leader tried to clarify why it could be more difficult for the adoptive parent to experience such hostility, but also pointed out that all parents, whether adoptive or not, might have the same experience with discipline. The child by birth might say to his parents that they treat him like a "step-child." It can be more painful for the adoptive parent because he is more vulnerable.

As the leader spoke of her belief that such hostility was expressed at some time by most children, and that it was natural for adoptive parents to react with more feeling, many of the parents felt greater freedom in talking about this. Here again there was some shift in points of view within the groups.

The following are excerpts from notes taken at the first meeting of one of our groups:

There was considerable discussion on the pros and cons of sharing illegitimacy with children. Mr. Doyle felt that if adoptive parents do not see illegitimacy as a

stigma, and the child has the security and love of his parents, he need not feel this as a stigma either. Mrs. Grau decided that when her child asks why his own parents gave him up, she would explain very simply that children can be born to married parents and to unmarried persons, and that when a mother does not have a husband to help care for the child she cannot do this alone, and feels that the child should have the advantage of being cared for by two parents.

On the whole, the group objected to "killing off" the natural parents. Mrs. Nash and Mrs. Wexler said they don't like to lie, and Mrs. Grau said that if the child subsequently learns that this was not true it will result in his losing confidence in the parents. She added that the child may ask where his parents are buried. Others also felt that if told that the biological parents died, that the child may fear the death of the adoptive parents.

However, Mrs. Hall felt that death was the best "story." She expressed fear that if the child knows his parents are alive, he might look for them. She also objected to burdening the child with the knowledge of illegitimacy. To her it was quite simple to tell the child his parents were married, and the fact that it is not true does not bother her. She said, "Why not make our own truth." The others in the group took exception with Mrs. Hall's point of view.

In the course of discussion, several couples stated that they had not previously talked very much about these things, even to each other, but that since the meetings had started they found themselves continuing with the discussions at home. Some also noted that their child suddenly seemed to be asking more questions about adoption, and it was recognized that as the parents developed greater freedom in facing adoption, they created a freer atmosphere for the child. Previously the parents' own discomfort seemed to repress the child, or at times the parents just could not hear questions that the child was trying to ask.

The discussion of heredity and environment revealed another area of concern for adoptive parents. Here is one quotation:

Mr. Teller said that he did not believe in heredity. Mr. Esker referred to the battle of heredity vs. environment; and said that he feels that adoptive parents indulge in wishful thinking when they consider heredity unimportant. It is not realistic to think that environment determines everything. There are hereditary characteristics that are transmitted. If a child is dull it could be an emotional block due to environmental causes, but it could also be an inherited lack of intelligence. Behavior characteristics are less likely to be inherited, but here too, he felt the tendency is for parents

to blame themselves too much. He spoke of modern parents having guilt complexes about everything being their fault, and for that reason it would help to know exactly how much of a role heredity does play.

A Follow-up of Placements

As I indicated earlier, when we considered the goals of this program, we saw as a by-product the opportunity of an informal follow-up of some of our placements, and hoped that we would gain some understanding that might help us in our work with adoptive parents.

We found that on the whole these parents appeared to be doing quite well, and the majority of placements could be considered successful. In some there were obvious problems, and a few of the parents came in to discuss these personally. Some of the families who had children born to them after they adopted indicated their need for help in handling the differences in their children's background. Some were able to discuss this in the group, while others preferred a personal appointment.

In one such situation the parents had a good deal of conflict about their preference for the adopted child. In another the mother recognized that she was too permissive in handling her adopted child, and felt that he resented it. There was one case in which the parents came back to see the leader two years after they had been in a group. Much of the difficulty here pertained to broader parent-child relationships rather than to adoption. The leader therefore tried to clarify this with the parents and suggested that the kind of help that they needed could best be given in a family counseling agency.

In a few cases the leader took the initiative in offering an appointment to the parents. For example, in one case the adoptive mother came to the leader after each session and expressed concern because her child seemed to be so different from the others in the group, in showing no interest whatsoever in the fact that she was adopted. In the brief discussions with the leader, the mother revealed difficulties at school which seemed to be somewhat

related to the child's slow development. She welcomed the offer of an appointment with a caseworker.

Although we did not attempt to scientifically correlate our earlier record material on the families with our evaluation during the group meetings, we do have some general impressions. In many cases we saw in this later period what we had predicted during the study. Other parents proved to be somewhat disappointing and still others, appeared to be doing far better than had been predicted. Questions that we saw at the earlier period were still apparent in some families, while in others much seemed to have been resolved.

It is important to note that even those who appeared to be the best as adoptive parents continued to have conflicts with regard to infertility and illegitimacy. It was reassuring to the parents to know that most adoptive parents do continue to have some of these conflicts. It is also important for agencies to be aware of this and to apply this knowledge in our evaluation of adoptive applicants. But we are not realistic if we try to select couples who have resolved all of their conflicts regarding their inability to have their own child, and who are completely accepting of illegitimacy. Instead, we need to recognize that resolution in these areas is relative, and that some conflict will continue after placement.

Where the feelings are so deep that the child may become the symbol of the conflicts, we need to question placement. But in many cases, greater resolution might come through the reality of living in the adoption situation.

Parents' Requests for Help

The fact that I have concentrated on our experience with discussion groups is not meant to imply that I see this as the only service that an agency can give in later years. Parents or grown adopted children often have taken the initiative in asking for help. We have found that generally adoptive parents return in later years because of concern about the handling of adoption, or be-

cause of a physical or developmental problem in the child.

The reasons, both conscious and unconscious, for the return may include some dependency, or perhaps even some resentment toward the agency if the child is not developing normally. However, whatever the reasons, we should be available to the family. At our own agency this sometimes includes the help of our consultants (psychiatric, psychological and medical) as well as that of our casework staff. I see this as a consultative service, and do not feel that it would be sound for us to accept these cases on a long-time basis. In most ways adoptive parents are like all other parents, and should use available community resources. The adoption agency should therefore continue to be of help in those areas relating to adoption, and the parents should be referred elsewhere for other needed services.

Later Contacts with Adopted Children

For the most part we help the adopted child indirectly through our help to the parents. However, occasionally a grown adopted child returns to the agency at a later date, usually to ask for background information about himself. In order to decide how to handle such situations, we need to determine, as far as possible, the real reasons for the contact with the agency. We cannot assume that the desire to return to the agency is necessarily an indication of trouble, and that a poor relationship exists between the parents and the grown adopted child. In some situations the return to the agency may relate to a certain amount of natural curiosity, which most adopted children have. In most cases this is probably satisfied by the adoptive parents, or it may be repressed, since so few actually do come to the agency to ask about themselves.

Some adopted children express an interest in the agency itself. It is likely that their interest in our agency is related to themselves, but it does not necessarily indicate a problem.

In many cases where the individuals are seeking background information they may ask for specific facts, but in reality what they want is assurance that they "come from good stock."

In one situation a woman in her thirties came to ask about her background, but the caseworker found that she already had most of the information. She said to the caseworker, "You have no idea how much it meant to me to have this discussion. It makes me feel good to know that I come from good people, and that I wasn't just left somewhere."

In addition to determining the motive in coming to the agency, we also try to learn what the inquirer already knows about his background. It is our policy to offer information that will give the kind of assurance the person is seeking, but which will not differ from what his parents have told him, since this can be destructive to the parents and the grown adopted child.

To some we say that we cannot give more specific facts, but could give some general information that might be of help.

One person who assumed that he had been born out of wedlock found it extremely helpful to get some general understanding of unmarried mothers. When he was asked why he assumed that he was born out of wedlock, he said that he understood that this was true of most adopted children, and why would people who are married give up their children? We have had other grown adopted children say that it is easier to accept the fact of placement if the parents were not married than it would be if they had been married. When such material was discussed with our groups, it was reassuring to the adoptive parents.

In Conclusion

I would like to restate my conviction that adoption agencies have an important service to offer parents and their adopted children in later years. Some of these services are given at the initiative of the parents or grown adopted children. In addition, I believe that agencies should be ready to take the initiative in offering an extended service. Discussion groups can be of great help to adoptive parents, and can also enrich our knowledge in the adoption field. Such a program supplements what we try to do during the post-placement period and offers a further opportunity of strengthening family life.

New League Member

By vote of the Board of Directors, the following agency was admitted to full League membership in June 1959:

Jewish Family Service
395 N.W. First Street
Miami 36, Florida
Albert Comanor, Executive Director

THE "ACCUSED" CHILD: THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY IN TREATMENT*

William G. Nagel

Assistant Superintendent
Reformatory for Men
Bordentown, New Jersey

The author has conviction that the knowledge, sympathy and understanding which social workers apply in every field have a particularly important place in work with neglected and delinquent children.

THE WORD "authority" arouses in us social workers all sorts of anxieties. I work in an authoritative setting and whenever I visit with my colleagues at meetings they ask me what's wrong with me that I can remain happy in such a setting for so many years. Furthermore, many prospective recruits tell me that they couldn't possibly work in an authoritative setting. Some even say that casework is impossible in such a setting.

But why is "authority" such a nasty word? In popular usage, some synonyms are to *have superiority over, hold the whip hand, lead by the nose, wrap around one's little finger, bend to one's will*. These expressions seem to be the antithesis of what social workers learn and believe. They suggest that authority is essentially controlling. But even as assistant superintendent of a reformatory, I cannot accept the idea that my role is to hold the whip hand, or to lead by the nose.

In my very first interview as a first year student in a public assistance agency offering ADC, I told an applicant that in return for her ADC grant we expected her to perform her role of mother in accordance with certain standards of mine. My supervisor rightly took me to task, asking me why I needed to "hold the whip hand" by means of this public assistance grant; why was I so controlling?

Is the alternative, however, to "allow children to be little savages," as a famous authority on mental health and child welfare once wrote? Is permissiveness, complete freedom, and absence from authority the *sine qua non* for a social worker's helping a client?

* Given at the CWLA Eastern Regional Conference, Atlantic City, New Jersey, on February 7, 1959.

This basic concern is discussed in the literature of social work itself. Gordon Hamilton, discussing authority, says:¹

"Confusion arises between authority and reality. By reality, or actuality, one means that a thing exists in fact. . . . All agencies—banks, offices, business houses, churches, as well as medical and social agencies, work within certain administrative and technical limitations. These are real and whether we like them or not is another matter. . . . The caseworker is actually quite often engaged in a process of trying to help the client accept his disability or his circumstances or the agency as real. . . . Sometimes people who pride themselves on refusing to accept authority are merely refusing to reckon with the world as a fact."

Another eminent leader in the field of social work, the late Kenneth Pray, states that:

"Freedom is a relative term; there is no absolute freedom in this world and there ought not to be. . . . Some structure of authority, defining and enforcing the necessary limits of our individual personal responsibility and conduct as a condition of social cooperation, is an indispensable basis of any kind of life in any society. Such authority . . . is essential in social work. . . . Social work is the art of helping individuals to find and use satisfying and constructive human relationships, and these relationships always involve constant adjustment of personal needs and wants to the limits imposed by others and by the social whole. Social caseworkers have to work within these limits just as their clients must do. If social casework does not help its client to face these limits, to accept those that cannot be changed, and deal with them realistically, it is not aiding in social adjustment at all. It may even be postponing or preventing social adjustment.

These two outstanding leaders in social work education have no doubt that authority is a part of life, and as a part of life is a part of social work. A third eminent teacher of social work helps me understand why it is so hard for many of us in the profession to

¹ *Theory and Practice of Social Casework.*

accept the authoritative role. Charlotte Towle says:

"Many of us come to adulthood with intense feelings about offenders. These feelings have ranged . . . from mild distaste to extreme repugnance and from mild anxiety to extreme fear. The very feelings which in part enable us to inhibit our own unsocial impulses operate, warningly, to make us condemn their enactments by others. Any acceptance or understanding of anti-social behavior may be reacted to with fear that we are condoning and thereby perhaps lowering our own standards. These feelings gradually give way in many workers as they experience professional education. In some instances, however, vestiges may remain. Feelings of condemnation may give way to sympathy and understanding, as workers study human behavior . . . as they come to know the effects of frustrating and hurtful relationships, as they become acquainted with the effects of adverse social and economic conditions on family life, and of the effect of the disturbed family on the individual. They see the individual not as having sinned so much as having been sinned against. . . . There may emerge strong identification with the individual against the law as formerly there was with the law against this individual."

Miss Towle suggests, furthermore, that many of our correctional agencies are so destructively restricting that they cannot be regarded as at all helpful.

I have given testimony from three revered teachers of social work to support my personal contentions that authority is part of reality, and as such is a part of the helping process. I should now like to spell out some aspects of the role authority can play in the treatment of the "accused" child.

Classifying the Offender

We must first recognize that one of our roles as social workers working with the "accused" child is the protection of society as well as of the child. However strongly we might be identified with the child and however much we might think he is less sinning than sinned against, we must accept this role. We must not allow our sentimentality about children to align us irrationally with those who seem to feel that children are poor innocents who can take no responsibility for, but need to be protected from, the consequences of their deeds. Some community agencies for delinquent and pre-delinquent children are not as restricting. We must be

able to recognize whether a child is well enough integrated and motivated to assure that the community will be reasonably safe if the child remains within it. I can recall three cases in which persons in helping professions, perhaps blinded by their identification with the child or perhaps untrusting of institutional services, recommended that their clients be treated for extremely severe emotional problems in the community. While under such treatment, the children committed vicious crimes.

I do not wish to imply that our role in community agencies is to recommend confinement recklessly. Furthermore, I know that crystal balls are not part of our paraphernalia as social workers. I do suggest that part of our role is to be as objective as our insights and abilities will permit, so that the community can feel secure enough to allow us to treat in its midst those who can be so treated. I believe that an ever increasing number of our juvenile problems should be treated in the community and not in institutions. At the same time I must also affirm that institutions do exist and that, if we are to be accepted as experts who understand human behavior, we must be able to differentiate between those who need confinement and those who do not. The classification of offenders is a treatment function, and as trained workers we have a role in it.

Authority in Treatment

I should like now to discuss some ways in which we can use our authoritative role in the actual treatment of the delinquent.

I have observed that a very large proportion of the individuals received at our correctional institution have grown up in homes which were receiving ADC grants. Another large proportion came to us after foster home care. I wonder if those of us in social work have given enough thought to the role of authority in these two welfare programs.

In the ADC Program

Dr. John Rose, Director of the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, a very eminent

authority in the field of child psychiatry—and a psychiatrist who is extremely understanding of and sympathetic toward social work—recently gave a prepared paper, the major theme of which was the ADC program. He said:

"There are many indications that during the period of rising ADC case loads the number of children in foster placement has dropped considerably. . . . This also is the identical period which has seen a rising emphasis on the 'hard core' family and the admission in the community that severe problems in parent-child interaction may exist in a chronic fashion [within ADC homes] without successful intervention."

Dr. Rose asks several questions, among which are:

"(1) When is aid to the dependent child not contributing to a child's better development?

"(2) When is it clear that an own mother or own family has no capacity or insufficient capacity for fostering constructive child development?

"(3) When is it clear that the dependent burdens of a handicapped child cannot be borne by a family without breakdown?

"(4) When is it clear that the existence of family breakdown or desertion creates profound incapacity for child care that financial assistance alone cannot meet?"

As a discussant at this meeting I expressed serious opposition to this point of view. Dr. Rose's thoughts have remained with me during the months that have passed, and today I ask whether we as social workers do not have a right to expect that parents receiving ADC assume some responsibility toward their children if they are to remain eligible for the grant. Can we not as social workers expect of ourselves and our clients that continued use of our services should mean effective use? If change is indicated because children are being neglected or abused, are we not obligated—as in any case of neglect—to remove these children from their homes if the parent cannot, with help, correct the neglect before the children become so damaged that they will be incapable of using life opportunities constructively in later years?

Dr. Rose suggests that there are many ADC homes in which wholesome child growth is impossible. Without ADC they would have long since broken up, and the

children been placed in foster homes while they were still young enough and able to profit from such placement. Instead, this breakup is unnaturally delayed by the subsidy and other child welfare doctrines. The children remain at home at great damage to themselves, until in adolescence they appear before the courts or mental hygiene clinics as problem children. Then it is often too late for constructive placement. As a result our corrective institutions and mental hospitals are overcrowded.

In the early days of Mothers' Assistance the pittances offered these unfortunate women were used most willfully to enforce standards of conduct which could be described as puritanical, if not saintly. Perhaps our revulsion at that type of authority has led us to abdicate authority altogether. The resulting devotion to freedom of choice and permissiveness of action has caused us to lose sight of the primary concern of the ADC program—the welfare of the child.

In the Foster Home Program

I gingerly leave that provocative thought to consider the caseworker's role in the foster home program, and the place of authority in it. Many young people have come to our reformatory after years of shifting from one foster home to another. One has been in twenty foster homes in thirteen years. He could not or would not use any of them. He destroyed several of them so that they became a permanent loss to the child welfare program in the state. I wonder if we, as social workers, do not sometimes contribute to the failure of a foster home placement by divorcing ourselves from the frightful authority inherent in taking a child from his own home and placing him in a foster home.

Placement is a decision of the mother, father, welfare agency or court, seldom of the youngster. We must recognize therefore that the foster home placement might be a hateful experience for the child. Unfortunately, he often does not know whom he should hate. It is too painful to hate your

mother. It is often impossible to hate the caseworker, either because he is not available as a focus for the hate or because he takes the attitude, "Don't blame me; it's not our fault you're here." That leaves the child only one person against whom he can project his hostility—the foster mother.

It is a rare foster mother, indeed, who can bear an abnormal amount of hostility. Sooner or later, human nature being what it is, she must respond to hostility with hostility, and one more foster home is broken up. Should it not be the trained social worker, capable of relationships, unafraid of hostility, who absorbs this hate, accepts the responsibility for the placement, and thus helps the child move into an acceptance of the reality.

The Court Setting

The juvenile court was devised to protect the child from the procedures of the adult criminal court. Although this setup is protective and often benevolent, it is not always accepted as helpful by the juvenile. In a recent article in the *Journal of Criminal Law*, Louis Diana, a professor in the department of sociology in the University of Pittsburgh who was for many years a probation officer in Pennsylvania, observes:

"It is a fundamental American belief that in order to protect individual rights there is a presumption of innocence until or unless the reverse is proved beyond a doubt. Juvenile court philosophy, taking its cue from social work ideology, does not speak in terms of innocence or guilt. On the other hand, though there may be no presumption of guilt, there is sometimes the assumption that any child referred to the court needs the court's 'attention.' The problem of delinquency is often taken for granted or ignored. . . . The modern approach to delinquency with its impatience with traditional legalistic restraints can be traced to the influence of a social ideology."

He points out, too, that the juvenile law does not actually give the child the protection that criminal laws give the adult. Certain types of evidence are admissible. The sentences can be much longer than the sentence imposed for the same act committed by an adult. For example, an adult who is found guilty of assault and battery in New Jersey can be sentenced to no longer than

three years, but a fourteen-year-old juvenile who commits an assault and battery can be incarcerated until he is twenty-one. Mr. Diana says that "there is no justification in incarcerating a child or keeping him on probation for an indefinite period because he has failed to reach an official standard of adjustment which may be higher than that imposed on the average person."

I do not wish to express agreement or disagreement with these views. I do want to say that he emphasizes the juvenile court's considerable authority—more authority than the adult court has. It is foolish to think that the child brought before the court does not feel the weight of this authority. His feelings about it might be very deep indeed. The social worker working in the court setting must be able to recognize this, and accept the authority inherent in juvenile courts instead of divorcing himself from it.

The child who is sentenced by the juvenile court, and who has feelings against its authority, must work those feelings out with an agent of the court. If he does not, his hostility might find expression in further delinquency and anti-authoritative behavior. The court worker who carries the treatment role must truly represent what society means to this child. The worker must use his ability to help the child recognize and accept the limits that are placed on him. The court, in placing a child on probation, expresses faith in that child; it also holds certain expectations of him, which always include the expectation that he live by acceptable community standards. The court's social worker must help the child to realize those expectations.

In the Correctional Institution

There is probably no place where the role of authority is more pronounced and ever present than in the correctional institution. Screened windows, even bars, wire fences, sometimes walls, locked rooms, sometimes cells, and detention facilities within the institution all make authority an ever evident reality. The correctional institution is very

close to
delegat
seldom
democr
ticular
reality
of trem

In th
control
carcera
change
than in
change
of the
work
accepti
institu
feel hu
this se
the off

Alm
mitted
tively
institu
tection
return
and m
side. I
institu
philoso
of the
author
the ca
toward
toward
havior

The
only t
chang
examp

A yo
robbery
ing was
in the
through
peared
release
for the
he was
arrived

close to being autocratic. The community delegates to its officials authority and control seldom given to any group of people in a democratic society. If social workers are particularly trained to help a person make use of reality, this is a setting in which they can be of tremendous value.

In the final analysis, it is the inmate who controls what happens to him while he is incarcerated. It is he who wills whether he will change or not. In such institutions, far more than in most places, he will need help to change. The social worker who is a member of the institution's official family, pledged to work toward its aims and purposes, and accepting of the authority inherent in the institution, and who at the same time can feel human needs and respond to them in this setting, can be tremendously helpful to the offender.

Almost all men and boys who are committed to these institutions return in a relatively short time to the community. The institutions have come to know that the protection they offer the community must be in returning to it persons sufficiently changed and motivated to make a new use of life outside. Knowing this, increasing numbers of institutions are turning toward a treatment philosophy. The caseworker is a skillful part of the treatment staff. Allied with the authority which is a reality in the institution, the caseworker can help the offender move toward greater personal integration and toward greater responsibility for his behavior.

There are times in the institution when only the full weight of authority stimulates change. The following case is an extreme example:

A youth came to us a year and a half ago for armed robbery. He was of superior intelligence, yet his thinking was terribly confused. During his eighteen months in the institution he resisted all help, hoping to drift through without having to face himself. When he appeared before the Classification Committee, hoping for release because the time served seemed to him sufficient for the offense that he had committed, he was told that he was still as dangerous as he had been on the day he arrived. He was further informed that we were not

going to release such a person to the community, and that his stay at Bordentown would remain indefinite. Under the weight of this ultimate use of authority he broke, first lashing out at us. Then, thinking about himself, he had to admit that he was unchanged. Though he had been assigned to a member of the treatment staff for help, he had never used it. He pleaded for another opportunity to have someone assigned to him who might help him toward greater self awareness and growth.

The assignment was made, and I believe that this youth will make more progress in the next two or three months than he has made in the past months, or even years. Only the most drastic use of the institution's authority brought him to this readiness.

In Conclusion

As social work evolved from its early methods of helping and became intimately aware of dynamics of personality that psychiatry has been uncovering, the profession rejected any form of authority or control. Since then, we have once again become aware that life is awfully real, and reality often limits the individual considerably. Having recognized this, we have become ready to make our influence felt in a whole new area of service. I believe that the greatest new horizon for social work activity lies within authoritative settings. I see the need for an entirely new kind of foster home program increasingly concerned with services for delinquent and pre-delinquent children who need specialized help outside their homes, but not in correctional institutions. There is great potential in the whole field of aggressive casework, such as that offered by the New York Youth Board and the Baltimore Protective Services. Casework has hardly made a dent in the whole field of probation and parole, areas which social work can claim for its own. Juvenile and adult correctional institutions also have a crying need for the skills social workers can offer, and for their philosophy of hope.

These areas of service will not be closed to us, I hope, by some unfounded fear of the word "authority."

OPERATIONAL INFORMATION FOR EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT*

Newton R. Holcomb

Director

**Santa Clara County Welfare Department
San Jose, California**

How cost analysis related to performance can help an agency present its needs to the community more effectively, and improve its services.

WE OWE it to ourselves and to our communities to know as much as we possibly can about what we are doing and how our program affects the community. To get public support for our program, and funds to do the job we know needs to be done, we must make our requests in terms that are understandable to the community. They must clearly express these needs in relation to the services that are expected of us. Good public relations is good performance that is publicly appreciated because it is adequately communicated. This is really what cost analysis, work measurement and performance budgeting are about. Our discussion can logically begin with performance budgeting.

Simply stated, performance budgeting is the presentation of requirements for operations in terms of the cost of performing specific types of activities and the volume of these activities that will be performed for the budget period. This is not a new concept. But it is one that is getting more and more attention from budget makers and appropriating groups because it is more easily understood than the conventional forms of budgeting. It shows at a glance what each program or activity costs. It is helpful to the administrator for analyzing program, controlling expenditures, establishing basic policy, and interpreting the activities of the agency. Many executives have been practicing it, at least partially, in one way or another without realizing it, because they are clear about the end products of their agencies, are well informed about their operations, and make good use of this information in administration.

* Given at the National Conference on Social Welfare, CWLA Meeting, San Francisco, on May 26, 1959.

The current emphasis on cost analysis in child welfare services stems from the need of administrators for more and better data for program planning, for procedural improvement, for evaluating results and for community interpretation. Administration is always faced with a variety of choices. Making these choices wisely depends upon a systematic body of knowledge about what is going on.

Cost analysis and work measurement methods are a refinement of what our own logic has told us needs to be done in order to achieve effective administration. All of the elements, perhaps with different terms and less scientific application, can be found in literature on social welfare administration of twenty or thirty years ago. Whether or not you plan a performance budget as such, good administration demands that you develop the basic information that performance budgeting implies.

The question repeatedly arises as to why we have not made more progress in these areas in the social welfare field. Maybe the experts tend to confound us with technicalities. Certainly that seems true of recent publications on the application of cost analysis techniques to this field.

Defining Functions and Objectives

There are implications of so much effort and so much research required to establish functional budgeting and control that few of us get started. My thesis is that we do not have to wait until we work out the perfect or complete system of management indicators and activity budgeting. I want to urge action—that we lose no time in taking the first steps. Once the beginnings are made we

can refine and develop, and build up to more adequate and more scientific systems of analysis and evaluation.

All of us, whether from large or small, private or public agencies, have common management problems. There is a certain core of things we need to do for successful operation of our agencies, regardless of the variety of service, size and composition of the case load, or the number and kind of staff employed. We all have to relate our programs and services to our communities. We have to explain what we are doing in terms that are understandable and acceptable to the people upon whom we must rely for support.

Whether you are talking about cost analysis, performance budgeting, or just plain management of an agency, you have to start by defining functions, objectives, and the specific kinds of services to be provided. Few agencies can actually produce this kind of statement, which seems to me so vital to direction of staff, unity of purpose, comparison of alternatives of services, establishment of priorities, observation of progress, and continuous evaluation of results. Even if you are not aiming at performance budgeting, this can be a wholesome and rewarding experience.

The primary basis for an effective management program is a clear and complete definition of function and service. It is essential for public interpretation. It is a requirement for systematic collection of data on agency activities, and is necessary to secure proper direction of staff energies. It becomes the starting point for management improvement, and for assessment and evaluation of agency operations in relation to their purpose and to community needs.

Defining and classifying services is the responsibility of the agency executive and his professional staff. It cannot be delegated or left to the administrative technicians. It is the primary business of the administrative board or advisory committee, with the leadership of the administrator, to decide what

the agency should do and how it should perform, and to evaluate how well it is meeting the goals that have been set.

Assuming staff participation and understanding, a good statement of objectives and services will do much to gain community support and achieve unity of purpose. But this is not a static document. It is subject to constant review, adjustment and refinement. While it should be as precise and complete as possible, it is better to have even a rough and general statement than none—assuming, of course, continuing work to develop and refine it.

Defining Services

Once the agency has a basic statement of program content and objectives, specific attention must be given to carefully defining the services provided, so they can be counted and measured.

These definitions must cover all of the significant services. They must be mutually exclusive to avoid overlapping, and must be related directly to the work that is to be performed. There should be as few as possible to facilitate measuring time factors involved. They must be specific and readily countable in day to day operations. For best results, they will be definitions of activities that can be easily explained and understood by those outside the welfare field.

One of our weaknesses has been the inadequacy of statistical data which can be used to describe what we are doing. Usually the statistics available do not meet the needs of administrators for data describing the activities of the staff and the needs of the families and children served by the agency. A recent U. S. Children's Bureau report points out that the chief obstacle to determining unit costs is the inadequacy of available service statistics for describing agency output so that it can be related to agency expenditures.

On the basis of services defined by the agency, a method for systematic collection of data must be established. One county welfare department in California, concerned

with developing performance budgeting for its child welfare services program, identified its information needs in this manner:

For the director: Data for general program planning and management, especially interpretive material to promote understanding of community needs and demands, type and volume of services given, and kinds of families and children served

For the child welfare supervisor: Statistical information for use in staff supervision and in program planning

For the county manager: Information showing work load for budget planning and control.

This agency then identified the kind of statistical data it needed to meet these management needs. They included:

Basic descriptive data on each family requesting or receiving services, including a classification of problems of these families

Activity statistics or counts of activities needed for analysis and for staff supervision and development

Time study data for estimating staff time needed for various types of cases and for other staff activities.

This agency has no technical research staff. However, it has used consultant services of a technician to help install a relatively simple system, built around a basic data card for each case, which was developed by the social work staff. The needs were identified by administrative and supervisory staff. Technical consultation was used to implement them.

Obviously what this agency has developed is a minimum program. It might well go on, and probably will with the impetus it has, to collect more refined data which measures the nature of problems needing agency and community attention, and which reflects the effectiveness of the kinds of services it is offering.

When he has defined agency services, and the work activities within them, and has established basic methods for collecting data about them, the administrator moves toward measurement of work effort and into cost analysis.

Management not only must be clear as to the purpose and scope of services—it needs to know their cost. It has to define the conditions under which they will be made available, and to whom. The methods which staff

members are expected to follow in carrying out the services have to be set out. Attention must be given to procedures, since where several alternatives are present, price levels and results may vary, depending upon the choices made.

This of course brings us to time studies, and what we choose to call *personnel yardsticks*. I know that time studies are dreaded by many staff and by many administrators, but they are valuable means of measurement. And they do not have to be so complicated and time-consuming as is sometimes thought.

One of the essentials to good administration is adequate staffing. This means relating staff needs to the volume of work that has to be done, so that some measurement of the time it takes to perform the various units of work required is necessary. For good budgeting, and particularly to assure adequate staffing, the agency has a responsibility to develop staffing measurements that are acceptable to those who provide the funds for personnel.

Establishing A Staffing Yardstick

It is relatively simple to establish a fairly sound staffing formula or yardstick. At least a temporary and usable one can be established with a minimum of technical effort by using judgment of staff doing the job, supplemented by limited measurements of time factors. It might help to outline briefly the process used to develop staffing formulas for adoption agencies in California. This was done in a relatively short period of time and the results have proved very satisfactory.

In order to secure adequate funds for adoption services and to be able to budget for adoption agencies on the basis of their work loads, a staffing yardstick was required. While preliminary planning contemplated extensive time studies in a large number of agencies to secure measurements of staff time required, this was discarded because of the long period of time and the great volume of processing and analytical work involved.

The first step taken was to clearly identify and define basic service units in the program.

This was done by a small group of supervisory adoption staff with some consultation from an administrative analyst. This group selected six service units—services to the natural parent, the child under study, foster parents, applicants and the child in adoptive placement, and services to other agencies. Defining these work units included establishing the beginning and ending points in each of the processes.

Having selected and defined the service units to be measured, the staff then listed the specific work steps required to perform each of these services. On the basis of their experience and knowledge, they thought through the process and reduced it to writing on a step-by-step basis.

Having worked out the steps in the process, judgment was again used to estimate appropriate average times for accomplishing each step. These estimates, worked out by a central group, were then furnished to adoption workers. The workers themselves made their own estimates, which generally agreed with those of the central group. Any marked differences were evaluated and reconciled. This seemed sufficient for an adequate standard of time requirements for staffing purposes.

Since this method arrived only at time required to perform specific steps in the case-work services, it was necessary to determine the proportion of workers' time spent on direct case services and on other activities. This presented a relatively simple time study problem of measuring the direct and indirect times.

Time studies were conducted by administrative analysts to measure time distribution for broad categories of activities. These were done at three time intervals, each covering a week's activity. These were relatively simple studies, and were processed quickly to arrive at the proportion of worker time spent in direct case activity and that going to other activities. They also served to generally validate the estimates developed for time required to perform the basic work units.

Concurrently with time estimating and measurement, research staff analyzed selected characteristics of children at certain points in case processing, such as children in adoptive homes under agency supervision, children under care and/or supervision one year or more, and cases for which services were terminated prior to adoptive placement. These data provided a picture of the character of the work load when the time estimates were made. Should later analysis indicate a substantial shift in the characteristics of the work load, this will be a signal for re-examining the yardstick for possible revision.

Considering the complexity of the operation and the variety of agencies affected, this was a relatively simple method of developing an adequate basis for staffing. It was good enough to survive the critical analysis of the state budget examiners as well as the test of time in operations within the agencies. It illustrates what can be done without a great expenditure of time and effort.

Other Uses of Time Studies

Time studies, in addition to their use in validating work loads and providing a basis for determining staff needs, have other values to administration. I advocate short time studies at intervals, but they should not be left entirely to the administrative technicians to analyze. It is helpful and revealing for the inquisitive and imaginative administrator to review the detail of time study results. They can help him evaluate his operations, his procedures, and his goals, and learn more about his agency. They usually will uncover blocks of time spent on activities that may not justify the time they are taking, and functions that could possibly be relinquished. The studies will show too little time going to activities to which the agency might well give priority. They will reveal unevenness in agency performance between workers, or between organizational units.

Something should be said about how we can use available information for better interpretation of our budgetary needs. Gen-

erally, social welfare agencies have persisted in presenting their requirements for staff services in a manner least calculated to get understanding and support from appropriating bodies. The traditional manner is to present a budget that lumps everything having to do with staff, equipment, space, travel, and other operating expenses under a general heading of administration. Requirements for funds for financial assistance, cost of care, or other services are presented separately.

We welfare people hide from appropriation bodies the major purposes of our agencies because we do not call budget items by their right names. Particularly in the child welfare field, we are dealing in services to people, and we should not label their cost "administrative expense." If we are criticized for high administrative costs, it is primarily because we have not presented our requirements in our budgets or in our reports in terms of the functions or end products of our agencies.

Administrative and Service Costs

While it is desirable to have data based on time studies and cost analysis to show requirements, it can be done in a generally acceptable manner without such detailed analysis. It is relatively simple to separate out from the personnel budget those positions that can be identified as truly administrative because of their executive, administrative, planning or housekeeping functions. Those positions that are based on providing case services, be they supervisory, casework, clerical or other classes, can be grouped separately and labeled correctly on the basis of their purpose. In some agencies these can be subdivided by program because the organizational structure is set up in this way.

A budget so presented will separate the administrative needs from those required for services. The former are usually relatively fixed and will show little fluctuation. The latter, based as they are on work load, are variable. It is here, particularly when work loads are shifting or increasing, that interpretation needs to be given. If not presented in terms of program or services provided,

this needed interpretation is exceedingly difficult to give. Generally, the first impression the reviewer gains from examination of a budget that lumps everything but direct aid as "administration" is unfavorable. It raises questions and creates prejudices about the budget that are very hard to overcome. A segregation of costs of doing business in relation to the functions of the agency will have a much better impression on the budgetary control agency, and will better prepare you to explain your needs to the appropriating body.

I have outlined a very rough and simple system that any administrator, with the aid of his accounting personnel, can work out relatively quickly. It is by no means a scientific budget, but it is a great improvement over traditional methods of presenting needs. It can be developed and refined by the application of time measurement and analysis. Given such measurement and analysis, costs of providing each major service can be expressed in terms of the unit cost of performing that service. The unit cost multiplied by the number of units of work to be done provides the budgetary needs. Into these unit costs go not only the direct costs of personnel engaged in the specific service, but also a prorated share of other agency costs such as those of the executive, the accounting office, space, equipment, supplies and travel, based either on estimates derived from time studies or on cost accounting systems.

In Conclusion

Obviously the potentials for gathering information for management use is almost limitless. The extent to which any agency can develop them will depend on a number of things, including the staff resources available for data collection, research studies, procedural analysis, cost analysis and accounting. What I have been stressing are some of the minimum requirements, because I know that many agencies have not yet developed even these.

There are many valuable uses of data and information that I have not stressed. I have

talked pri
informati
tion, in te
to me the
not want
other op
effective
basic stat
vide ana
effect of
loads. Da
on case c
adjust p
changing
piled and
the opera
through
addition
There an
to meas
effort in
of a basi
only by
agency.

Once
inherent
will lea
plete op
includes
clear de
it furnis
ating st
for day
vision;
objectiv
units of
what is
fident t
aminat
commu
sire of

We l
the val
we are
ty, and
for our
lic or
purpos
our ne

CHIL

talked primarily about the use of operational information for budgeting and interpretation, in terms of the simplest, and what seem to me the most urgent, needs. However, I do not want to overlook the use of statistics and other operating information for evaluating effectiveness of program. For example, a basic statistical reporting program can provide analysis of case turnover to test the effect of lower case loads or specialized case loads. Data regularly gathered and analyzed on case characteristics enable the agency to adjust program and staff effort to meet changing needs. Statistics, properly compiled and analyzed, will reveal bottlenecks in the operation which require specific attention through modification of procedure or method, additional staff effort, or other remedies. There are indicators that can be established to measure effectiveness of administrative effort in solving agency problems. The uses of a basic data collection program are limited only by the interests and initiative of the agency.

Once a basic framework is established, the inherent curiosity of management and staff will lead to the development of more complete operating data. If this basic framework includes clear purpose of the agency and clear definition of the services it provides; if it furnishes the administrator and the operating staff with the basic essentials they need for day-to-day administration and supervision; if there is a basis for staffing through objective criteria of time required to perform units of work; and if staff is kept informed of what is going on in the agency, I am confident that collection of information and examination will be extended to agency and community problems, stimulated by the desire of staff to do a better job.

We believe in what we are doing. We know the value to the community of these services we are rendering. We owe it to the community, and particularly to ourselves, to account for our activities and our expenditure of public or community funds in relation to the purposes for which we exist. We must present our needs, and report on our stewardship, in

terms of the functions for which we are responsible, and in a manner that will carry conviction and encourage understanding and confidence in the job we are doing.

READERS' FORUM

A Community Protective Program

To the Editor:

I would like to compliment Miss Rappaport on her very constructive comments on my article, "A Community Protective Program," in the May issue of *CHILD WELFARE*. Her attitude reflects her broad experience in protective service, and contributes to the understanding that is essential if agencies are to offer a maximum service to children and families.

Had I not been describing primarily the development of a local community protective program, I certainly would have added Miss Rappaport's point that a protective agency can and should review *all* reports of possible child neglect in the community. If I have a reservation or two about cases which make newspaper headlines, it is only because my knowledge of other communities' experience here is lacking. I can accept the idea that an established protective agency could do the job which I reserve for the court in my description of the local situation, and I am very pleased that she enlarged on this.

Her final point in favor of making protective service a separate and distinct service is one I heartily applaud. The lack of a separate protective division has contributed tremendously to our problems on the local scene, at least from the court's viewpoint. We encourage the Children's Department to centralize protective service in a single unit as a first step, but the divisional idea is only logical and I am sure it is coming. Her encouragement of this development, I believe, will be most influential.

Again, I wish to thank Miss Rappaport for her very timely and appropriate additions to my article.

JOSEPH L. THIMM

*Casework Supervisor,
Department of Domestic Relations,
Juvenile Court and Home, Portland, Ore.*

Group Care of Pre-school Children

To the Editor:

In the face of the extremely difficult local problem described, I cannot presume to answer the question of our colleague (Readers' Forum, June issue of CHILD WELFARE) whose dilemma is planning for pre-school children in other than a group setting. My only direct assault on the situation there would be to admit that it is difficult, but needs doing anyway.

Agreed that a "boarding home program . . . could not always provide the answer," but might it sometimes, and together with fragments of other acceptable plans, at least reduce the number for whom group care is now the only answer?

Our situation was considerably different. For many years The New England Home provided emergency placement for several hundred children a year. Until 1954, the pre-school children had been a most welcome part of our institution. They were, for the most part, kept apart from the children who were with us for diagnostic study, in an airy, though crowded, section of our infirmary floor. The new-born infants, four or five at a time, were across the hall. All of us were reminded by their wails that this is a children's institution. Board members were sure this section was an appealing factor and a good advertisement for the agency, and some of the staff found that visits to this section helped to give purpose to their struggles with budget, homefinding, board committees, or community planning.

The agency had taken the lead, for some time, in efforts to stem the tide of group care by closing "baby cottages" and the like. The excuse for continuing our shelter program was that it was "short time." Based on the theory that two weeks exposure to the hazards of group care was not so bad, the supposed advantages of saving caseworker time and reducing home-finding won out.

Early in the 1950's a suspicion arose that even if this theory was acceptable, some of the children were not staying the "short time" of two weeks, but rather much longer periods. For each one who exceeded the agreed limit there was a good excuse. It was some other agency's fault, or the mother was not released from the hospital when ex-

pected, or illness in the adoptive or own home prevented immediate placement. These "good excuses" kept the child from proper care too long.

When the Board of Managers and the Staff faced this issue it was a blow to many long held ideas. The big push to discontinue emergency placement came as a part of a search for more space in the over-crowded building. Realization that taking this space from the littlest of our charges could be construed as a "good and commendable act" swung the balance.

Many fears were felt and some were expressed by board members and staff alike about the problem of finding and keeping foster homes for this transient group. But we have made the shift very easily and with no great problem resulting. The several subsidized foster homes we anticipated did not need to be established. Placement has been made quickly after medical examination in the institution. Case aides do a great deal of the comforting and transporting, and senior workers are in close touch with the entire process, particularly with the parents and the foster home.

Financially, the picture is not so disconcerting either. Though exact figures are not available for the institutional cost, we believe that we are not spending more on the program now that it is in foster homes. But our greatest satisfaction comes from the realization that if the separation from home must be prolonged, the child is not suffering from lack of human contact, stimulation by the group, and loss of identity and relationship with siblings, nor is he being exposed to the physical hazards of group care. Our record of length of stay has not shown increase and will not if we keep our supervision tight.

Two big questions have come to the surface since this little battle was won. One is a serious question as to why a private child welfare service is doing emergency placement at all. The other is, "How long need we wait until homemaker service can be established, which will make even foster home placement unnecessary for many?" We still have work to do.

RICHARDSON L. RICE

Executive Director, The New England Home
for Little Wanderers, Boston, Mass.

BOOK

Crime and
Appro
lished f
tion by
240 pp.

Sol R
to socia
field of
many y
Juvenil
of logic
should
and soc
respect
Turnbl
tion an
Johnson
Social V
preface

Sol R
can be
juvenil
tween
the ind
tionshi
affect h
out th
cannot
accord
with p
science
the co
ethics
people

Mr.
tried a
success
problem
"statu
study
sary to
of livin

Mos
problem
bers o
classif
quenc
occasi
ties or
Mr. R
case
value

CHIL

BOOK NOTES

Crime and Juvenile Delinquency—A Rational Approach to Penal Problems, by Sol Rubin. Published for the National Probation and Parole Association by Oceana Publications, Inc., New York, 1958. 240 pp. \$1.85.

Sol Rubin has been a generous contributor to social service journals, particularly in the field of rehabilitation and correction, for many years. His current book, "Crime and Juvenile Delinquency," presents a sequence of logical arguments and conclusions which should interest all judges, lawyers, educators and social workers. Two of the most highly respected professionals in this field, Will C. Turnbladh, Director of the National Probation and Parole Association, and Kenneth D. Johnson, Dean of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, wrote the preface and foreword, respectively.

Sol Rubin believes that casework methods can be used in criminology as well as in juvenile delinquency. The difference between these terms usually lies in the age of the individual, but both involve human relationships in which casework attempts to affect human behavior and attitude. Throughout the book the author stresses that we cannot deal with people as we do with things, according to certain formulas. In dealing with people "we must be scientific. The science of human behavior must reckon with the complexities of human ethics, social ethics and with the special values inherent in people."

Mr. Rubin is not afraid to examine the tried and true methods, the traditionally successful formulas, for dealing with human problems. He is against maintaining the "status quo." He believes that never-ending study and trial of new approaches is necessary to keep abreast of changes in our mode of living.

Most social agencies deal with human problems, including activities of some members of the family group which may be classified as criminal or as juvenile delinquency. Social workers who may never have occasion to refer their cases to legal authorities or to appear in court will find much in Mr. Rubin's book to help them write their case histories properly, for their greater value in possible future court cases.

Space will not permit a review or comment on all of the subjects Mr. Rubin deals with. Whether or not the reader agrees with his conclusions, they are well worth reading by anyone interested in juvenile delinquency, crime by youth, or treatment of criminals generally.

The two items in the book which in this reviewer's opinion are likely to raise the greatest controversy are "Are Parents Responsible for Juvenile Delinquency?" and "Should Presentence Reports be Available to Defendants?" I have selected these for special comment.

Newspapers every now and then advocate as something new or untried the punishment of parents for the wrongdoing of their young offspring. According to Mr. Rubin, such allegations are not sound. He tells of the experiment of punishing parents made by Judge Paul Alexander of the Toledo, Ohio Domestic Relations and Juvenile Court. After examining the records of his court from 1937 to 1946, this highly-rated leader among juvenile court judges came to the conclusion that this practice had no noticeable effect on juvenile delinquency.

Mr. Rubin continues with logical arguments which will convince most readers that punishment of the parents or the juveniles themselves is not the solution. Practically all juvenile judges of my acquaintance throughout the nation agree with Mr. Rubin.

A far greater furor will be raised by Mr. Rubin's advocacy of making more of the information *against* the defendant's interest, contained in the presentence investigation, available to him, to his attorney, or to both, to enable the defendant to controvert or rebut it. While he does not specifically mention it, his reasoning and conclusions apply to probation and social agency investigations in juvenile delinquency and neglect cases.

Mr. Rubin does not advocate the general or promiscuous opening up of the investigation or presentence reports, nor does he recommend handing them out to the press for publication. The judge's decision to remove an adult or a juvenile from the community is usually based on the individual's responsiveness to the court situation, stem-

ming from his personality adjustment to past experiences, rather than on the readily available recorded facts. This reasoning should be made known to the affected person or his attorney to enable the defendant to better understand the judgment of the court, so that he may be convinced of its fairness.

Probation officers and social workers who carefully check all data found in their sources and scrupulously verify information deleterious to the individual or his family can safely depend on a good judge to divulge

only as much as is material and of help to the individual. The better the understanding the more scrupulously will these reports be prepared.

The book is generously foot-noted with sources and references; it also contains a generous index as well as the official citations of cases mentioned in the text.

VICTOR B. WYLEGALA

Judge, Erie County Children's Court,
Buffalo, New York

CLASSIFIED PERSONNEL OPENINGS

Classified personnel advertisements are inserted at the rate of 15 cents per word; boxed ads \$7.50 per inch; minimum insertion \$3.00. Deadline for acceptance or cancellation of ads is eighth of month preceding month of publication. Ads listing box numbers or otherwise not identifying the agency are accepted only when accompanied by statement that person currently holding the job knows ad is being placed.

CASEWORKER for adoption and other services for multi-function agency in rapidly growing city with especially fine climate. MSW required. Experience in family field preferred. Initial salary based on qualifications; salary range \$4800-\$7000. Bernard Wielewinski, Executive Director, Family Service of Phoenix, 808 N. Second Ave., Phoenix, Ariz.

CASEWORKER II and **CASEWORK SPECIALIST** in child placement agency. Service includes intensive casework with deeply troubled parents and children, placement in full-time and day care homes. Controlled case loads, regular psychiatric consultation. Excellent personnel practices, Social Security, retirement, health insurance. Caseworker II requirements: MSW and potential of being creative. Salary \$4836-\$6036. Casework specialist requirements: MSW, experience in casework and community organization activity. The casework specialist carries, in addition to a case load, considerable administrative responsibility for the particular service or program to which he has been assigned. Salary \$5400-\$6756. Clyde S. Pritchard, Executive Secretary, Children's Bureau of Los Angeles, 2824 Hyans St., Los Angeles 26, Calif.

CASEWORKER II in a private statewide adoption agency for work with natural parents, children, and prospective adoptive parents. Require 2 years' training. Positions available in Oakland, San Diego, and San Jose, California. State Headquarters. Children's Home Society of California, 3100 W. Adams Blvd., Los Angeles 18, Calif.

CHILD WELFARE SERVICES WORKER and **SUPERVISOR POSITIONS** for fast growing county in southern California. Opportunities in adoption included. **WORKER I** (\$5130-\$6084) requires 1 year's graduate study in social work. **WORKER II** (\$5388-\$6384) requires 1 year's graduate study in social work and 2 years' experience or 2 years' graduate study. **SUPERVISOR I** (\$5940-\$7044) requires 2 years' graduate study and 2 years' experience, 1 of which must be in child welfare. **SUPERVISOR II** (\$6876-\$8148) requires 2 years' graduate study and 4 years' experience, 2 of which must be as casework supervisor. Paid vacation and sick leave, part-paid health insurance, other benefits. County Personnel, Courthouse, San Bernardino, Calif.

DIRECTOR of Children's Services for large (3 supervisors, 18-22 caseworkers) statewide, expanding Protestant agency in the Midwest. Dynamically oriented. Organized program of psychiatric consultation. CWLA applicant. Board, administration and staff committed to quality services. Require extensive casework practice and supervisory experience. Opportunity for individual able to exercise strong, creative, professional leadership. Excellent personnel practices. Starting salary \$8100-\$9600, depending on qualifications. Reply Box 26, **CHILD WELFARE**, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N. Y.

CASEWORK SUPERVISOR. Santa Ana District Office of a statewide private adoption agency offering service to natural parents, children and prospective adoptive parents. Supervise 3-4 caseworkers and some intake interviewing. Salary—\$5712-\$7140. Require 2 years' training and 4 years' experience, preferably in child welfare. State Headquarters. Children's Home Society of California, 3100 W. Adams Blvd., Los Angeles 18, Calif.

FIELD REPRESENTATIVE. Caseworker for territory beyond local office. Some overnight travel for private statewide adoption agency offering services to natural parents, children, and prospective adoptive parents. Require 2 years' training and 2 years' experience. Salary range \$5112-\$6384. Positions available in Chico, Oakland, and San Jose, California. State Headquarters—Children's Home Society of California, 3100 W. Adams Blvd., Los Angeles 18, Calif.

LOS ANGELES—Openings for two caseworkers with graduate training in expanding family and child welfare agency—multiple services including marital counseling, unmarried parents, financial assistance, child placement in foster home care and group care, psychiatric consultation. Highly qualified supervision. Standard personnel practices. Opportunities for advancement. Salary, \$4836-\$6656 depending on training and experience. Write: Rev. William J. Barry, Assistant Director, Catholic Welfare Bureau, 855 S. Figueroa St., Los Angeles 17, Calif.